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BIRTH CONTROL:

ITS MEDICAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS

BY
A DOCTOR
AND BY
A PRIEST



REVISED EDITION

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BIRTH CONTROL :

ITS MEDICAL AND ETHICAL ASPECTS

BY A DOCTOR AND BY A PRIEST.

A SURVEY of birth control can conveniently be made under four main headings:—

Firstly. In relation to broad racial and population problems.

Secondly. The practice as it affects the individual and the family unit.

Thirdly. Its medical aspects.

Fourthly. Its moral or ethical aspects.

RACIAL CONSIDERATIONS.

“ We have to face the fact that the practice of contraception has become widespread before there has been time to think out its implications, ethical or otherwise.”

These are the words of the recently published Report of the Special Committee appointed by the National Council of Public Morals in connection with the investigations of the National Birth-Rate Commission.

For the last fifty years the birth-rate in this country has been steadily falling.

Dr. Stevenson and Sir Arthur Newsholme have shown that the standardised birth-rate for England and Wales fell 6 per cent. during the period 1881-1893—13 per cent. in subsequent twelve years, and 13 per cent. from 1903-1911.

In Ireland the standardised birth-rate has risen during the periods cited above. Australia is quoted

by Sir William Beveridge as "the only country in the world where a fall in fertility has been checked and gone back the other way, showing an actual rise from 1900 to 1910."

Sir William Beveridge, like Sir Arthur Newsholme, considers that "the revolutionary fall in human fertility in Europe since 1880 is due mainly, if not wholly, to deliberate prevention." He also considers that "the sudden spread of the practice of prevention after 1880 cannot be connected with any change of economic conditions increasing the need for restricting families, and must be attributed to the invention of more effective means of prevention—together with active propaganda." He also traces a direct connection between birth control and the decrease in marriages which has occurred in the period named, typically in Holland. This latter observation is of particular interest in view of the contention by the advocates of birth control that these practices will be certain to facilitate early marriage. In a speech at the Eugenic Educational Society Meeting in August, 1924, the same authority comments on the exaggerated pessimism of some eugenic propagandists in Britain. He disclaims the fact that there is any solid evidence of an increase in the number of those who can be described as unfit.

At the same time, Sir William Beveridge is emphatic on the point that the *present tendency of birth control is dysgenic*—that is, the most desirable classes of the population are producing least. Dr. Stevenson has shown in his evidence before the 2nd National Birth-Rate Commission, that the greater survival amongst the better-to-do classes goes only a small way towards compensating for their lower

birth-rate. Even the most ardent advocates of birth control have to agree that *at present birth control is being practised by the very class of the population in which it is the most undesirable*. But these propagandists, while admitting the facts, proceed to prophesy, on what premises is not at all clear, that in the near future birth control will actually cease to be dysgenic and become eugenic!

"*Birth control*," says Sir William Beveridge,¹ "*came by accident and not because it was needed.*"

BIRTH CONTROL AND VICE.

The propaganda in favour of birth control is no new propaganda. It was not new even in Malthus' time, and the neo-Malthusian doctrines, which would, no doubt, have deeply shocked Malthus himself, have had their counterpart in the days preceding the decline and fall of ancient Greece and Rome. History shows us that birth control, far from causing a decrease in vice, coincides with the spread of the most degrading vices and a definite increase in abortions—and we must recognise the fact that a nation given up to this practice may have to face its own political and national extinction.

THE CASE OF FRANCE.

In wading through neo-Malthusian literature one is rather struck with the very misleading references to the case of France. Yet in the France of to-day we have an actual example of a people who have adopted neo-Malthusian practices widely for a considerable period of time—a nation, therefore, which can be profitably studied as a "test" case.

Impartial and scientific sociologists in France deplore the growing practice of abortions, of divorces, and of sexual irregularities and excesses,

¹ *The Ethics of Birth Control*. 1925.

which some of them correlate with the prevalence of birth control.

I will quote from a *non-medical* writer on Contraception¹ whose books, though they have been banned in America, are widely disseminated in this country, and who was described by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cave, in a recent famous Appeal Case in the House of Lords, as "carrying on her campaign by means of literature not less obscene than that for which Charles Bradlaugh was prosecuted, and of such a nature as to infringe the criminal law which forbids such publications," and of whose writings Viscount Finlay said on the same occasion: "It will be found that the plaintiff's books not only advocate such methods (as Bradlaugh's), but contain what is obscene, whatever view may be taken of such methods."

Lord Finlay further stated: "We were referred in the course of the argument to certain passages of the book of such a nature that they were not read aloud. These books have a very large circulation, and for my part I cannot doubt that they are calculated to have a most deplorable effect upon the young of both sexes."²

This writer mentioned above states: "It is not generally stated that since 1920 *contraception* has been made criminal in France, and what she is suffering from to-day are *abortions*, and the sterility induced by venereal diseases and various abnormalities."

We find this same writer further asserting in this same publication, entitled "Contraception"; "Poor France! Unless the 1920 law (against contraception) is swiftly revised *she will be upon the*

¹ M. Stopes, Ph.D., D.Sc.

² Law Reports, Appeal Cases, 1925, Part I. February 4th.

dangerous slope of Race Suicide indeed." Comment, I think, is unnecessary.

The disaster which has overtaken France dates, of course, from before the Franco-Prussian war, and has especially attracted attention for the last twenty-five years. At the present time men of all shades of religious and political opinion are exercised to try and find a remedy for the stationary or decreasing population, the lack of workmen and the depopulation of the French Colonies.

In 1814 the population of France made up 35 per cent. of the total population of the great powers—France, Great Britain and Ireland, Austria, Germany; in 1913 only 13 per cent. of this total.

In 1789 the population of France was greater by 14,000,000 than that of Great Britain and Ireland, and was only 2,000,000 less than that of Germany. By the year 1880 Austria had surpassed her, in 1895 England, and, recently, Italy.

To take the year 1910, the excess of births over deaths in Germany was 880,000, in Italy 460,000, in Great Britain 410,000, in Holland 90,000, and in France only 70,000. The present state of affairs is that of an almost stationary population, emigration has practically ceased, and the immigration of foreigners is increasing.

MODERN TENDENCIES.

There was, perhaps, never a time when people talked and wrote so much about the responsibilities of parenthood and practised them so little.

A new generation of women has sprung up—a generation universally acclaimed as fitter, healthier, and more normal than ever before—yet a generation which is rapidly acquiring the habit of talking and thinking as if it would be reduced to permanent

invalidism by a family half the size of those reared by our unathletic grandmothers. Has there ever been a time in the history of our country when love of luxury, distaste for a simple, hard life, and the unwillingness to undergo hardship and make sacrifices were more marked than they are to-day? From our upper classes, the new rich and the new poor alike, the cry goes up: "Let us have a good time—*an easy time*." Our working-class, is it to be wondered at that they too echo the cry?—it is so human to want to get away from suffering and discomfort of all sorts. Some enthusiasts talk and act as if we should shortly attain the state when there would be:—

(1) No sickness.

(2) No poverty.

(3) Not more than three children in each family.

(4) A dole or a pension or work (a bad third, this last) for everybody.

In other words, an ethically "Prussianised" world as an ideal to be aimed at.

THE NORMAL WOMAN.

It cannot be too emphatically stated and repeated that the *normal woman is not exhausted by bearing children*. The *abnormal* woman may be exhausted by a trifling illness, or by having her appendix removed, or by the birth of an only child. Of course, bad midwifery and meddlesome midwifery may cause invalidism in any previously healthy woman, just as disease in her partner may, but it would be as logical to argue that because some houses are badly built and damp, therefore we must not live in houses, as to say that, because some women suffer from the effects of having children, therefore all women suffer so.

Nothing gives one a clearer view of the subject than extensive experience in a very big city where all classes of women of the lower middle and working class, normal and abnormal, in large numbers pass through the physician's hands. To gain a wide and balanced view in these matters is not easy, and one may easily form biassed opinions if only cases of disease or abnormality are seen. Cases could be instanced—many of them—to prove this thesis, but the cause of truth has suffered much from the type of mind that insists on quoting special cases as pegs on which to hang its own pet theory.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS.

In this work, and at this stage of the controversy we need *facts*, and not theories. Much hard, detailed and impartial research work has yet to be done.

Perhaps it may be of interest to refer to some research work undertaken in a big Maternity and Child Welfare Department recently.

Investigation was made into the social, hygienic, and economic conditions under which the poorest of our working class—or, perhaps it would be more correct to say our workless class—was existing in a big city, and for this purpose detailed enquiry was made into the health and social conditions of five hundred very poor families. The enquiry was undertaken by no less than twelve people—all Health Visitors—on *unselected cases* taken at random from the poorest section of our population.

Three hundred and fifty of these families were families of over five children, which will be called Class A, while 150 were families of under five children, which will be called Class B. The average

number of children in Class A was 8. The average number in Class B was 2.9. Overcrowding in Class A was considerably greater than in Class B, the maximum average number of rooms inhabited by the family being only 3.7 in Class A, and 2.65 in Class B, and the sanitary conditions were decidedly less good. (Only 16 per cent. W.C.'s as against 32 per cent. for Class B.) It was found that the health of the mother was definitely slightly better in Class A than in Class B, while the health of the children was very markedly so. Two further points worthy of notice were: (1) that the maternal health level was decidedly higher than the paternal, and (2) that, even in this, the most improvident and fertile class of the whole community, the class of the casual labourer (nearly all them out of work), the average interval between the pregnancies (every miscarriage or still-birth being counted as a confinement), was as much as two years and two months in the series of 350 big families, and of two years in the series of 150 small families.

THE HOME AND THE FAMILY.

People who have insufficiently studied the question tend to assume that "frequent child-bearing" means having a child every year. Of course, these cases are exceedingly rare, but unfortunately they tend to catch the eye of the enthusiast and get repeatedly quoted much to the detriment of truth and science.

Mr. Harold Cox has said, in his evidence before the Special Committee appointed by the National Council of Public Morals: "In practice, unless married couples employ methods of birth control, babies succeed one another so rapidly that the mother has not time to recover her strength and

the children are deprived of the full benefit of a mother's care.'" This sentence is simply packed full of inaccuracies, and shows profound ignorance of the conditions under which our working-class population is living, as well as of the physiology of reproduction and the laws of fertility.

It is not in the least true that births succeed one another with unchecked rapidity. The series of 350 exceedingly fertile families with young parents will show this. Moreover, the woman who has a child every four or five years is far more apt to suffer both mentally and physically than the woman who has one every two or three years. The agreement of prominent obstetricians is almost universal on this point. Then, as regards "mothering," what are we to say to the unfortunate mother of one or two small babies not old enough to take each other out? She complains that she herself can never get out, and the babies can never get any fresh air. Where there is a healthy bunch of five or six children, the little brothers and sisters act as nurses—and what incomparable nurses they usually make—dragging the family party forth to the green parks and pleasant places of our big cities. The "*only*" child is very far from being the healthiest child.

This study would tend to show that many more statistics and facts of a similar nature, collected by reliable public health workers, should be amassed, and that great harm is being done by hasty statements based on *a priori* reasoning.

It is not difficult to collect evidence from our greatest medical authorities in the field of gynæcology and obstetrics, that is very damaging to the cause of contraception. In the important discussion

on sterility at a meeting of the Section of Obstetrics and Gynæcology of the Royal Society of Medicine, in May, 1921, Dr. Arthur Giles expressed the view that a nation with a falling birth-rate was usually a decadent nation. He spoke strongly and definitely about the ill-effects of contraceptives, and of the unhappiness caused by childless marriages.

Dr. Gibbons instanced cases where the use of contraceptives had brought on sterility, and said that all newly married couples should be warned that they took precautions against conception at their own risk, and that they could not break physiological laws with impunity. Another authority, Dr. Herbert Spencer, who out of his vast experience is an uncompromising opponent of birth control, corroborated Dr. Gibbons' statement as to the frequent causation of permanent sterility by preventives.

Professor Louise McIlroy also thought that the section should protest against the growing use by women of contraceptives, and dwelt on the many neuroses and illnesses attributable to the false stimulation of the sex instinct.

Lady Barrett and many others speak of the harmful effects of the methods so widely advocated and in use at present.

Those of us who are familiar with the habits and mentality of our working-class population will at once think of the utter impossibility of ever getting the lowest strata of our population to take the complicated precautions required by the advocates of the methods of birth control. In Mr. Harold Cox's evidence before the Special Committee on the Ethics of Birth Control, even he is forced to admit that "There are some people so low down

that you cannot get them to take any precautions for their own improvement, they are too degraded," and when questioned as to his suggested remedy for this state of things, he makes the unique proposal: "I think all you can do is to have women doctors going round telling them."

The problem of the feeble-minded will, of course, not be touched at all by contraceptives.

Professor Henry Corby¹ considers all contraceptives inimical to the health of both husband and wife. Professor Fothergill¹ thinks the wife's health only is harmed. Professor Louise McIlroy is emphatic in her disapproval of contraception.

Perhaps one of the most widespread fallacies among the very numerous non-medical people who interest themselves so actively in the subject of birth control, is the assumption that the bearing of children is essentially pathological. Yet in a series of five hundred very poor families the average of the maternal health was very definitely higher than the average of the paternal health. Under modern methods of preventive midwifery, and with the widespread increase of ante-natal clinics, it cannot be too vigorously stated and repeated, that marriage and child-bearing are not productive of continuously recurring disease and ill-health to the mother. Where such ill-health occurs, it is nearly always the result of one of two things: Firstly, bad and meddling midwifery at the time of confinement, together with absence of good preventive work in the form of ante-natal care of the expectant mother which are productive of much unnecessary ill-health among married women. These evils are, however, preventable, and every effort is being made all over

¹ *The Practitioner*. July, 1923.

the country under the auspices, and with the active encouragement, of the Ministry of Health, to raise the standard of midwifery and improve the health of our mothers. Secondly, acquired venereal infection. This can be, and should be, treated medically, and—it must be explained—will never be prevented, will, indeed, rather be increased by the advocated methods of birth control which permit free licence to sexual passions. The offspring of a mother who has had efficient anti-syphilitic treatment before the birth of the child should be healthy, and free from congenital syphilis, while gonorrhoeal infection in the child can be avoided by appropriate medical measures. It seems essential to point this out as certain non-medical writers on the subject seem to be quite ignorant of these facts.

MORE SELF-CONTROL NEEDED BY MEN.

Another very important point that seems to be lost sight of by the advocates of birth control, is the fact that *most of the suffering of our working-class women* arises from the unrestrained licence and want of self-control of their husbands, especially after drinking bouts. These cases are not, I think, so numerous as some women social workers would have us believe, but they are very painful and essentially a problem of our lower working-class population. Birth control, by removing every check to licence, simply makes the position of these women very much worse.

THE ETHICS OF ARTIFICIAL BIRTH CONTROL.

It may be conceded that the ethical side is really the crux of the whole matter. Conception-control is not merely an individual problem—it is a national problem, and it is essentially a moral problem, just as abortion is essentially a moral as well as a

medical problem. No important medical and sociological problem can ever be dissociated from its moral essence which is at the very foundation of human existence.

Let us then proceed to consider the question from a purely ethical point of view, arguing simply from human nature as such and from its activities. We shall see that conception-control is always and in all circumstances immoral, because it is opposed to the Natural Law.

THE LAWS OF THE DIVINE CREATOR.

God in the work of creation followed the plan of His own wisdom. That plan, first conceived in the divine mind, and then executed in the external work, was for His own great ends. Those ends are subserved by the ends of every individual creature; every created thing has its predestined part in the scheme of the universe. This is the end of its creation, and the creature is under a law to strive to its own particular end. This striving or tendency is often called an appetite. In respect of inanimate or irrational creatures the word law is used in a loose sense, for law truly implies a will in the subject as well as in the lawgiver. The inferior creatures have no freewill; they are under necessity to follow their appetites, and so to pursue their ends. That is the basis and significance of physical law, which is inevitable. Hydrogen must always have an affinity for oxygen; the crystal must always tend to its specific form, the magnet must always attract the iron; the animal is necessarily drawn by its appetite for food. But man is free. He, too, is under obligation to pursue the ends laid down for him by the wisdom of God in the designing of his nature, but he must do that freely.

In him law has its full significance. He must know its meaning and will its fulfilment. Every creature then, human or inhuman, has its special tendencies, tendencies which specify its nature, tendencies by which we can determine the nature; for nature and tendencies, or operations, are correlatives. It is obvious that God must will the accomplishment of His plan, and He must expect every creature to do its part in accomplishing that plan. Now we are only concerned with man, and man is bound by the law to fulfil the divine plan, to pursue the ends of his nature. This law for men, which is the substantial reflection of the divine plan in their regard, is called the Natural Law. The divine plan itself is called the Eternal Law.

The determination of the Natural Law is equivalent to the discerning of natural morality, and it is a problem beset with many difficulties. Hence the confusion and conflict about the details of conduct, and the necessity of establishing certain criteria by which we may discern the implications of the Natural Law. Moralists of various schools have laid down many different criteria, and without entering into their argument¹ we may take it that some of these are of obvious validity. Let us apply two or three of them to the subject we are discussing.

I have indicated that man's tendencies or appetites are clearly directed to certain ends of nature. With the appetite there goes a faculty for the pursuit of the object of the appetite, and often some corresponding bodily organ. Appetite, faculty, organ, end (or object) are obviously related to one another (to suggest otherwise would be to cast a

¹ The full discussion will be found in Dr. Cronin's work, *The Science of Ethics*, to which we are deeply indebted for the outlines of the ethical argument.

slur on the divine wisdom), and each may serve as an index to the others. Man has an appetite for communicating the contents of his mind, and the faculty of speech; he has an appetite for food, and the faculty of eating and digestion; the appetite for the reproduction of his kind and the sexual faculty. Our first criterion then is this: the act of a faculty is naturally good when it pursues the natural object of the corresponding appetite; it is always a bad act so to use a faculty as to oppose the realisation of the natural end of that faculty. See what the natural tendency is, and what is the ultimate object of that tendency; consider the faculty at man's disposal for the prosecution of the tendency, for the attainment of the end; and then you may determine that if a man uses the faculty and simultaneously sets out to frustrate and defeat the end, he is doing wrong, sinning against the Law of Nature. For the *unnatural* use of a faculty two conditions are necessary: the faculty must be used, and it must be used so as to frustrate its proper end.

Now the proper end of the sexual faculty is procreation. To exercise that faculty while preventing conception is unnatural, and so unlawful. This is so fundamental that the Church has nothing to do with it except to promulgate it. She did not make the law; she cannot abrogate the law or dispense from the law. In the same way, lying is wrong, because it is the using of the faculty of speech while defeating the proper end of speech.

The advocate of birth control may be unskilled in the science of ethics, but he has a natural feeling of the rightness of its conclusions, and he instinctively counters this argument by suggesting that the end

of the sexual faculty is not procreation, but the physical expression of love. That is one object of the appetite but only a proximate object. That it is not the ultimate object, or the primary object, is too obvious to demand elaboration. The immorality, the breach of the Natural Law, is not in the pursuit of the proximate object, which is quite good as far as it goes, and which is designed as a means to ensure the full carrying out of the law of procreation, but in simultaneously frustrating the ultimate end. Just so, there is no harm in savouring one's food; but the idea of eating for the mere pleasure of taste to the exclusion of digestion is unnatural; hence our disgust at the old Roman *vomitorium*.

Another but less fundamental criterion is this: that act is a bad act which, if it were universally practised, would result in injury to the race. Such an act could not be natural, for nature can never tend to its own destruction. Observe that the evil effect must not be a result of the intensity of the action, too much or too little. That would be to play directly into the hands of the prohibitionists. It must be the result of the act itself as such. Also, let us observe that this criterion merely manifests the immorality of the act; it does not constitute that immorality. This is most significant in our present enquiry. Even though the practice of birth control in the individual case were not injurious, that would not alter the fact that it is immoral; it is shown to be immoral by the consideration that if it were universally practised the race would soon be extinct.

Finally, I would point to the fact that this practice is opposed to the moral feelings. By this I mean that the spontaneous reaction of any un-

sophisticated person is a feeling of repulsion and disgust. It is true that nowadays an unceasing propaganda and the sponsorship of men of learning and respectability have blunted these feelings and invested the practice with a cloak of prudence, nay, with a halo of sanctity; but that does not touch the validity of the criterion. Why all this appeal to patriotism, prudence, beautiful motherhood, if it be not designed to combat the instinctive disgust for the whole thing?

SOME OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

Let me now, in the light of the principles I have laid down, answer one or two objections. It is commonly alleged that the whole process of medical science is in the direction of the control of nature, that every operation is an interference with the laws of nature and that therefore those who condemn birth control as unnatural might just as well condemn all medicine and surgery at once on the same grounds. In the schools we should answer such an objection very succinctly by a distinction: the laws of nature here mentioned are the physical laws, not the strict natural law involving morality of which I have been speaking. Is it not obvious that the objector is using the word "unnatural" in two distinct senses, and "Law of Nature" in two distinct senses, and neglecting to observe the distinction? The law of nature which he boasts of controlling is the normal growth and progress of the disease. With that is involved the law of physical nature, the law of the tendencies of inanimate or irrational natures. Those laws themselves he cannot control. All he can do is to alter conditions, introduce new forces or allow restrained forces to come into play. He can no more interfere with the laws, the tendencies of such

natures, than he can destroy the affinity of hydrogen for chlorine, or change the atomic weight of carbon. It simply can't be done. But he can remove hydrogen from the proximity of chlorine and prevent their combining, and he can interpose a screen between himself and radium emanation; he can cut out a cancer, and he can separate the slag from the ore; he can stop a hæmorrhage as he can caulk a leaky ship; but the laws of nature go on irresistible and invariable. Now the law of nature whose breach is possible and immoral is that law of nature which binds the freewill of man, which can only be broken from the interior and not from the exterior, which men break when they pervert the use of their own faculties and frustrate the objects of their own appetites. If you drink a large quantity of poison, you break the law of nature which forbids suicide; if you take a minimal dose of belladonna for your stomach's sake, you do not break the law; in both cases you will introduce new forces into the system of your body, but in neither case do you for a moment suspend the physical law, the necessary natural tendencies of the substances involved.

Another objection takes the form of retorting the argument. Surely it is unnatural, they say, for a married pair to bring more children into the world than they can nurture, unnatural for a woman to ruin her health or risk her life by too many pregnancies. In extreme cases these things may be unnatural, though it would be somewhat difficult to prove it.

NO CERTAIN METHOD OF ARTIFICIAL BIRTH CONTROL EXISTS.

Mr. Harold Cox, in his evidence before the Special Commission, says: "Those theologians who

condemn birth control appear to shut their eyes to the fact that the practice of abortion is widespread throughout the world. *Married women would no longer be driven to seek refuge in this dangerous practice if they were taught satisfactory methods of birth control.*"

Mr. Cox appears to shut his eyes to the facts: (1) That in countries, such as France, where birth control has enormously increased, the practice of abortion has increased *pari passu*—one cause being, no doubt, (2) the second fact to which Mr. Cox shuts his eyes, namely, that there *is* no "satisfactory" and certainly no *sure* method of artificial birth control.

A parallelism can be drawn between this increase in the number of abortions and the increase in the number of divorces when birth control is rife. Let us be quite honest. The desire for birth control in a nation has, history teaches us, only become manifest, i.e. widespread, when that nation has become decadent and already effete. It is easy to confuse cause and effect, and to say that a nation has perished *because* it has practised birth control, and, indeed, this might be a perfectly true saying, but it would be truer to get to the root cause, and to say that the widespread demand for birth control could not possibly exist if Christian and not Pagan principles had prevailed. Christianity teaches and practises self-denial and self-control—not the wild seeking after every form of material pleasure and self-indulgence. Christianity regards man as not a mere animal satisfying its urgent animal instincts, but as a being with an indefinitely higher destiny, capable of freewill and of self-control in the highest sense.

Some people argue that artificial birth control should be practised only in cases of grave economic or medical necessity. Who is to draw the dividing line between "grave" and ordinary cases? Sociological experience shows that once birth control *gets hold* of a people it is not possible to limit its spread in certain directions. You cannot say: "Thus far and no further; stop, before the race is moribund."

The advocates of birth control state that self-control is impossible. The experience of numberless people proves the contrary.

CONCLUSION.

Sociologically, Medically, and Ethically.

Many of the supposed reasons on which birth controllers base their propaganda can be shown to be quite fallacious, such as the assertions:—

- (1) That large families are very detrimental to a mother's health.
- (2) That "only" children, or two or three in a family, stand a much better chance in life.
- (3) That only *desired* children at *desired* times should be born.
- (4) That the sex instinct should be freely indulged in for mere sex-gratification, quite designedly apart from any possible responsibilities it normally may entail.
- (5) That self-control is impossible and harmful for men.

The Special Committee appointed by the National Council of Public Morals in connection with the investigations of the National Birth-Rate Commission, who have recently issued their report under the title, "Ethics of Birth Control," state, among some of

their final conclusions, that: "Our knowledge is not such as to justify either the advocacy or the condemnation of these means on the ground of alleged dangers of over-population. . . . The weightiest argument for birth control is found in the economic circumstances (wages, grossly inadequate housing, and the like), of many persons. The ultimate remedy lies in the amelioration of these conditions."

A Note of Reservation, signed by Canon Lyttleton (late Headmaster of Eton), Dr. Letitia Fairfield, Canon Simpson, and Mrs. Clay, states that: "In addition to other evils . . . the most baneful will be the inevitable encouragement of immorality among unmarried persons. If contraceptives are in any circumstances permissible for normal married people, we, for our part, do not see how any adequate answer can be given to those who desire a like safeguard in unauthorised connections, or to those who practise the most degrading forms of sensual indulgence."

In view, then, of these facts, and of many others which it is obviously not possible to do justice to in the scope of a short paper, it would seem to be in the highest degree disastrous for the race, for the Empire, for the individual, if birth control were to increase to any extent in our country—that any sanction by the Ministry of Health of such teaching in public, State-aided clinics would be a national calamity—and that such sanction would alienate a very large and influential section of the rate-paying population of our Empire.

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Infant Mortality*.
- *21 Birth Control Ethics. H. Davis, S.J. 1927.
*Those marked * are by Catholic writers.*

JOHN HENRY, CARDINAL NEWMAN¹

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He comes, by grace of his address,
By the sweet music of his face,
And his low tones of tenderness,
To melt a noble, stubborn race.—J. H. N.

JOHN HENRY NEWMAN was born in Old Broad Street, in the City of London, on February 21, 1801. He was the eldest of six children, three boys and three girls. His father was of a family of small landed proprietors in Cambridgeshire. Mr. John Newman had an hereditary taste for music, which came out likewise in his famous son, and was a man of much general culture. It is said that the family was of Dutch Protestant extraction, and originally spelt their name Newmann. Mr. Newman married Jemima Fourdrinier, of a well-known Huguenot family, long established in the City of London as engravers and paper manufacturers, being himself a member of the banking firm of Ramsbottom, Newman & Co. This lady was from first to last loyal to her family traditions; and "all the early teaching of her children," says Mr. Mozley, "was that modified Calvinism which retained the *Assembly's Catechism* as a text, but put into young hands Watt, Baxter, Scott, Romaine, Newton, Milner."

In J. H. Newman's blood there must have been a strong tinge of Puritanism. "He expected," again says Mr. Mozley in his light style, "to be 'converted';

¹ First published 1891. See likewise *Catholic Encyclopædia* Articles on "Newman" and "Oxford Movement," by Mgr. Barry, and his *Life of John Henry Newman*.

in due time he was converted, and the day and hour of his conversion he has ever remembered, and no doubt observed." The *Apologia*, which will always remain the chief authority for his inward life, deals more largely with these things. Newman says: "I was brought up from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible; but I had no formed religious convictions till I was fifteen. Of course I had a perfect knowledge of my Catechism." The Bible he knew almost by heart. His mind and fancy woke together. For he goes on: "I used to wish the Arabian tales were true; my imagination ran on unknown influences, on magical powers, and talismans. I thought life might be a dream, or I an angel, and all this world a deception." In these words many have wished to discover a key to his after life. And it is certain that as a child he was strongly drawn to the supernatural and invisible.

Another curious prognostic of the future was that in his first Latin verse-book, when he was ten years old, he sketched an upright cross and a string of beads, getting the notion, as he supposed, from some romance of Mrs. Radcliffe's or Miss Porter's—those mildly daring ladies who preceded Walter Scott in returning to the Middle Ages and the Catholic Church for the scenery and incident of their tales. Walter Scott himself remained always an object of his admiration; nor can we doubt that his stories opened to the future Cardinal a vision of the ancient faith by which he was unconsciously influenced. On the other hand, at fourteen, he read Paine's *Tracts* against the Old Testament, and found pleasure in thinking of the objections they raised; he became acquainted with Hume's *Essays*, and copied out some French verses denying the immortality of the soul.

But in the autumn of 1816 a great change took place in him. He fell under the influence of a definite creed, and received into his intellect "impressions of dogma" which were never obscured. From the Calvinistic books he learnt the doctrine of "final perseverance"

He believed that the inward conversion of which, as he wrote in 1864, "I still am more certain than that I have hands and feet," would last into the next life, and that he was elected to eternal glory. He felt a rooted distrust in the "semblance of a material world"; and to him there were two only "luminously self-evident beings"; himself and his Creator. He studied Thomas Scott of Aston Sandford, to whom, he said, "I almost owe my soul," and through his writings the dogma of the Trinity was planted deep in Newman's mind.

At sixteen the youthful theologian was supporting each verse of the Athanasian Creed with texts from Scripture. Law's *Serious Call* helped to impress on him the idea of the warfare between the City of God and the powers of darkness. And on reading Milner's *Church History*, he became "nothing short of enamoured" of the long extracts it contained from the Fathers. For years he felt a drawing towards missionary work among the heathen (as did his brother Francis); and, connected with it, was the deep impression that he was called to a single life. Thus seventeen years before the Oxford Movement began, there were stirring in the heart of its leader those feelings and convictions of which the outcome, long after, was his submission to the Catholic Church.

There was another element, however, not at all compatible with the ancient teaching. From Newton *On the Prophecies* he learnt that the Pope was Antichrist and the "man of sin" foretold by Daniel, St. Paul, and St. John. That doctrine was the last to leave him; even in 1843 it had still a hold on his imagination, and became to him "a sort of false conscience." It was an application of the dogmatic principle, fatal indeed to Rome, and had nearly kept him in the toils of Protestantism.

Newman was sent to no public school; and we may be thankful that his sensitive nature, almost feminine in its delicacy, was not exposed to the ways of that barbarian life. He spent some time in an excellent school at Ealing, kept by Dr. Nicholas, to the head of which he rapidly rose. Thence he proceeded at seven-

teen to Trinity College, Oxford, where, in 1820, he graduated, taking a low class, in consequence of a sudden breakdown in health, brought on by over-study. He had a passion for his first College, and spoke of it, when writing the *Apologia*, in affectionate terms, little dreaming that he should go back thither to receive the highest distinction which it could bestow.

But the turning-point in his life was his election in 1822 as Fellow of Oriel. It came when his father was sinking under business embarrassments, and the family troubles were very hard to bear. To Oriel, Oxford, and England itself the consequences were, in the highest degree, momentous. Oriel was the most distinguished College of the University. It was the College of Raleigh and Butler. Among the Fellows were, or had been, Copleston, Whately, Hawkins, Davison, Keble, Arnold, Pusey, and Hurrell Froude. None of these names is altogether forgotten; those of Keble, Arnold, and Pusey are likely to be remembered for generations. And Newman entered at a critical period in the fortunes of English religion.

The fresh influences under which he came were represented by Whately and Arnold on the one hand, by Keble and Hawkins on the other. Whately belonged to what was then called "the march of mind," or, in more ambitious phrase, the "Noetics." "For about the first thirty years of this century," says Mr. Pattison, "Oriel contained all the original intellect there was in the University." And not a little of that intellect was, in a narrow English fashion, taking to "free inquiry," which, when it came in contact with religion, was pretty sure to develop the anti-dogmatic principle and appear as "Liberalism"—if we may employ the term by which Cardinal Newman has always described it. "Liberalism," he said in the famous address at the Palazzo della Pigna, on receiving the Cardinal's biretta, "is the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another." Perhaps we may say that religious Liberalism gives to historic forms of belief a merely relative value, according to the circumstances

which have produced them ; and thus denies the perennial or supreme indefectible authority of any, be it Christian or non-Christian. We need not suppose that the "Noetics" grasped the consequences of their principle ; but simply to recall such names as Whately, Arnold, Hampden, Baden-Powell, and Blanco White is to trace an influence running through the University which, after helping to expel Newman and degrade Ward, must be held responsible for the Oxford of Matthew Arnold and Arthur Clough, of Pattison and Jowett, and Mr. Max Müller.

In this series of events the Tractarian Movement is an episode which breaks but does not change the sequence. The Noetics of sixty years ago were direct ancestors of the Agnostics of to-day. And the first chapter of Newman's history is taken up with his efforts on behalf of the dogmatic principle—which he then identified with the English Church—against his early Liberal friends. But he lost the battle, and they drove him from Oxford.

He had become intimate with Dr. Whately during the years 1822 to 1826, first at Oriel, and then as his Vice-Principal at Alban Hall. "Whately," said Newman, "taught me to see with my own eyes and walk with my own feet." The quondam Low Churchman, who was still an Evangelical, learnt from him "that the Church was a substantive body or corporation." It was Whately that fixed in him "those anti-Erastian views of Church polity which were one of the most prominent features of the Tractarian Movement." To him, on the other hand, we must partly ascribe it that in 1825-7 Newman "was drifting in the direction of the Liberalism of the day," was "beginning to prefer intellectual excellence to moral," was using "flippant language against the Fathers," and imbibing the sceptical spirit of Middleton in regard to the early Church miracles.

But it was not his destiny to become a Noetic. "I was rudely awakened from my dream," he writes, "at the end of 1827, by two great blows, illness and bereavement. In the same year he had been named one

of the Examiners for the B.A. Degree. He was now Tutor of Oriel, and received from the College the living of St. Mary the Virgin. He "came out of his shell." In 1829, on occasion of Mr. Peel's re-election, he broke with Whately, and they never were friends again. Long after they lived over against one another in Stephen's Green, Dublin—Whately as the Protestant Archbishop, and Newman as Rector of the Catholic University; but it was impossible that they should meet. And they never did.

Newman had taken Orders in 1824, and his first pastoral duties lay in the parish of St. Clement's. He soon began to make an impression on the mind of the University by his sermons; whilst as Tutor he was influencing in a marvellous fashion all the young men he came across. His own intellectual guide was Butler's *Analogy*; his friends were no longer the Noetics. Keble, whose *Christian Year* has become an Anglican classic, and R. H. Froude, did much to mould his beliefs on the pattern of the Fathers, and would fain have given their College the tone of an ecclesiastical seminary. But Provost Hawkins, who owed his election to him, took alarm at the views of the relation between tutor and pupils, which had been summed up in the phrase, "I consider the college tutor to have a care of souls"; and, rather than give way on this point, Newman—says Mr. Pattison—"resigned, or rather was turned out." From Hawkins himself he had learnt the doctrine of tradition upon which is founded the notion of a teaching Church, as likewise the habit of verbal precision which afterwards alarmed his fellow-Protestants as savouring of Jesuitic subtlety. Newman's resignation of his Tutorship was the beginning of the Oxford Movement. Whately, perhaps, had already seen round him "the signs of an incipient party." It was now forming fast. That some great task was laid upon him, Newman, a strenuous believer in Providence, dimly discerned. His first volume, the *Arians of the Fourth Century*, was written; and on resigning his Tutorship he and Hurrell Froude went abroad.

He visited Rome, saw Mgr. Wiseman at the English College, explored Sicily, and was struck down with fever at Leonforte, where, as he lay ill, he kept saying, "I shall not die, I have a work to do." He recovered, and came home in July, 1833. During this journey, of which there is a graphic account in the *Apologia*, he composed a large number of the verses afterwards published, including "Lead, kindly Light." It was a time when the revolutionary movement, springing out of the Three Days of July, seemed to be gathering force, and England herself was going over to Liberalism. On July 14, 1833, Keble preached the Assize Sermon at Oxford, and took for his subject, "National Apostasy." The impulse was given; and in a conference at Haddleigh, under the guidance of Mr. H. J. Rose, it was resolved to unite High Churchmen in maintaining the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, and preserving the Book of Common Prayer from Socinian adulterations.

It is neither necessary nor possible to repeat here the story of the Oxford Movement. Names like Rose, Perceval, H. Froude, Palmer, or Pusey, though counting for much in the revival of the Church of England, are of importance chiefly as connected with Newman. He it was that gave them a place in the world's chronicle. "Newman," says Mr. J. A. Froude, and not unfairly from his point of view, "has been the voice of the intellectual reaction of Europe, which was alarmed by an era of revolutions, and is looking for safety in the forsaken beliefs of ages which it has been tempted to despise." Chateaubriand, Joseph de Maistre, Lamennais, F. Schlegel, Rosmini—differing as they did in character, fortune, and natural gifts—were also voices of what Mr. Froude terms "the reaction"; but upon English-speaking peoples they could none of them have an influence such as has fallen to Newman's lot. His life and writings are the most enduring record of principles which, to use the Cardinal's own phrase, tend towards the "ultimate absorption" of the "various English denominations and parties" into the Catholic

Church. But whilst the Vicar of St. Mary's was to carry the movement he had started to its logical conclusion, by a return to antiquity and the Apostolic See, the purely national elements which had been wrought into it remained Protestant. With astonishing frankness the *Guardian* has in these days acclaimed Newman as the Founder of the Church of England now actually existing. But it has not ceased to be an establishment; and Puseyism or Ritualism is but a party within its borders.

Mr. Newman now began the *Tracts for the Times* "out of his own head." At first short papers, they grew to be elaborate treatises; their aim being to uphold "primitive Christianity" as extant in the English Church. But all who wrote them were not of one mind. Was there no danger of Popery in exalting the powers of the priesthood and insisting on Apostolic succession? The idea of the *Via Media*, suggested by the history and antecedents of the Church establishment, and shadowed forth by divines of the Laudian School, began to take form and colour. In the *Tracts*, in the *British Critic*, in the *Lectures on Justification*, and the *Prophetic Office*, Newman gave it a coherent shape and a philosophy, discriminating at every step between the "sober" doctrines of his favourite authors as interpreted by an appeal to antiquity, and the excesses of Rome on the one hand as of Geneva and Wittenberg on the other. The scheme looked well on paper, but was impossible to work. Only a confused mind like that of Dr. Pusey could dwell for ever in a maze of subtleties where every word was doomed to have two meanings—one anti-Roman, the other anti-Protestant. But from 1833 to 1841 the unwearied genius of Newman was employed in dressing up this phantom. It made a stir and a show; and young men were taken by the eloquence, enthusiasm, ascetic life, and wonderful charm of the leader whose position at Oxford was for a time not unlike that of Savonarola at Florence. The whole country was roused, but never at any moment had there been a probability of its following in the direction

whither Newman pointed. From the beginning he fought a losing battle. But he fought it undauntedly.

In 1836, Dr. Hampden was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity by Lord Melbourne, who, good easy man, little dreamt that he was raising a storm about his ears. Dr. Hampden had preached the Bampton Lectures in 1832, and, to quote Mr. Mark Pattison again, "had applied the dissolving power of nominalistic logic to the Christian dogmas." It was not conceivable that his appointment should be unopposed. Mr. Newman brought out his *Elucidations of the Bampton Lectures*; and a vote of censure was passed by Convocation on Dr. Hampden, whose reply to Mr. Newman's strictures is one of the most curious, if not the most edifying, of clerical epistles. But Hampden became, in due course, Bishop of Hereford; and it was soon the Tractarians' turn to defend their position. Tract 80, of which Isaac Williams was the innocent author, gave great offence by recommending the "principle of reserve," or the *economy*. It was feared that little by little the Church of England would be secretly indoctrinated with Roman superstition. For years, however, Newman scouted the idea that his methods could lead to Rome. He felt supreme confidence in his position. He wrote many violent things against the living system which the Papacy controlled and embodied. He was sure that the Pope was Antichrist. He thought the unity of the Church rather a counsel than a precept; and nothing led him to study the Papal claims. On that road, by which so many have come into the Church, he had not thus far taken a step.

But a crisis was surely coming. In 1839, Dr. Wiseman, who had been watching the course of things from Rome and Oscott, and who already, in the *Dublin Review*, had commented on the Oxford Movement, published a further article, drawing out the likeness between the Anglican position and that of the Donatists in the fourth century. It was put into Newman's hands. He read it, was not impressed, and was laying it down, when a friend pointed out to him some words of St

Augustine, quoted in the *Review*, which had escaped his notice : *Securus judicat orbis terrarum*. His friend repeated them again and again. They rang in Newman's ears like the knell of his theory. "By those great words," he said, "interpreting and summing up the long course of ecclesiastical history, the *Via Media* was absolutely pulverised." His thought for the moment was, "The Church of Rome will be found right after all." But he determined to be guided by reason and not by his imagination ; had it not been for this severe resolve, he declared he should have been a Catholic sooner than he was. If he must give up the *Via Media*, he could still fall back upon Protestantism, that is to say, upon his conviction that Rome had leagued herself with deadly error. While in this state of mind he wrote Tract 90, to show that subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles might be made in a Catholic, though not in a Roman, sense. He meant the Tract not as a feeler, but as a test. He did not wish to hold office in a Church that would not admit his sense of the Articles. The Tract appeared, and all England was in an uproar. It seemed as though a second Guy Fawkes had been discovered in the very act of setting fire to the time-honoured Establishment.

The actors in that drama have all disappeared ; and it is now generally admitted, in the language of Prof. Froude, that "Newman was only claiming a position for himself and his friends which had been purposely left open when the constitution of the Anglican Church was formed." There could be no difficulty, and, as the event has proved, small danger, in showing that the Articles do not condemn the Council of Trent, which was not confirmed by the Pope till after their appearance, or the formal teaching of Rome on a middle state, or the Invocation of Saints, or even, in a certain sense, the Eucharistic Sacrifice. But Newman, in restoring a lost historical view, was an innovator, and every one knows the penalty exacted from him. It is written in many books how he would not withdraw the Tract ; how four leading tutors, including Mr. Tait,

afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, complained to the Hebdomadal Council; how Newman stated more fully his views in the *Letter to Dr. Felf*; how the Board was asked to stay judgement for twelve hours and refused; how it condemned the Tract as evading the sense of the Articles and leading to the adoption of religious errors; how Newman publicly owned himself as its author in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor which was a pattern of frank humility; and how, on the Bishop of Oxford's desiring that the Tracts should come to an end, Newman submitted and gave up his place in the Movement. He had always been scrupulously obedient to his Bishop's voice. Nothing remained except to give up St. Mary's too—a step on which he had been for some time resolved—and go into “the refuge for the destitute,” as he playfully termed it, which he was building out at Littlemore.

So far, Tract 90 had not been condemned by the Bishops. There was an “understanding” that Newman should pass judgement on it himself by writing to his Diocesan, which he did in a remarkable letter, unsaying nothing, but consenting to stop the Tracts. However, he and his party had come into collision with the nation; and in a little while one bishop after another began to charge against him. He recognized in their action that he stood condemned, and he felt it bitterly. To make things worse, his old unsettlement, begun by Dr. Wiseman and St. Augustine, returned upon him in studying the Arian history. “The ghost had come again.” And by way of convincing him that, while the Roman Church was the heir of antiquity, the Establishment was root and branch heretical, there was added the grotesque affair of the Jerusalem Bishopric, founded conjointly by England and Lutheran Prussia. Against that measure he protested in his place as Vicar of St. Mary's. But for him it was the beginning of the end. It proved that “if England could be in Palestine, Rome might be in England.” From the close of 1841 he was on his death-bed as regarded his membership with the Anglican Church. Various lookers-on,

Catholic and Protestant, thought him indeed like Charles II, "an unconscionable time dying"; but he must take his own way. He could not hasten faster than reason would let him.

He resigned St. Mary's in the autumn of 1843, and while his old friends of the Via Media were troubled about him, and could not understand his abandoning a view for which he had undergone so much, younger men of a cast of mind less congenial with his own were coming round him, a new school of thought was rising, and was sweeping the original party of the Movement aside. The *Apologia* mentions only the accomplished and amiable Mr. Oakeley. But there are two other names connected with this stage of the Movement, which had made themselves more widely known, although in opposite ways—I mean Dr. W. G. Ward and Mr. Mark Pattison. To such as these perhaps Cardinal Newman refers as "acute resolute minds, who knew nothing about the Via Media, but had heard much about Rome." It was Mr. Ward rather than Mr. Oakeley who, "by force of logic and a vigorous character," made Rome the keynote of the whole controversy. He it was that "cut into the original Movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought, and then set about turning that line" in his own direction. Ward was strictly logical; but to a person in Newman's state of bewilderment, for such it had now become, logic "had in it the nature of a provocation"; his own was a poetical, not a logical, temper, and he did not know what to say.

He had, however, advanced a long way towards Rome, when some months before resigning St. Mary's he published in a country newspaper a retraction of the hard things he had uttered against Catholicism in his various writings. It was an act of boldness and humility which had been seldom equalled. The retraction was afterwards inserted in the preface to his *Development of Christian Doctrine*, where it may still be read. By October, 1843, he could say in a letter: "It is not from disappointment that I have resigned St.

Mary's, but because I think the Church of Rome the Catholic Church, and ours not a part of the Catholic Church because not in communion with Rome." He brought out his *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, and continued to edit the *Lives of English Saints*. And so he went on, in a kind of monastic seclusion at Littlemore, till 1845.

In February of that year, Mr. Ward's *Ideal of a Christian Church* was condemned by the Oxford Convocation, and the author, in academic language, "degraded." His offence was that he claimed as a clergyman of the Establishment to teach the "whole cycle of Roman doctrine." In April the country was excited by Sir Robert Peel's proposal to endow Maynooth. In June, Sir Jenner Fust, the Dean of Arches, condemned Mr. Oakeley for holding the like tenets with Mr. Ward. It was time for Newman to go. His work *On Development* removed the last stumbling-blocks from his path; and, on October 9th, a day long memorable in the religious annals of England, this, the most distinguished of converts since the Reformation, was reconciled to the Church at Littlemore by Father Dominic, the Passionist. The scene has been often described, and by Cardinal Vaughan in graphic and earnest words at the Conference in Birmingham, where the venerable Oratorian's last public utterance was recited amid impressive silence.

It was a great shock to the Church of England. The heart of the nation was moved; and men so unlike as Lord John Russell, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli have borne witness to the alarm it produced and to its long continued effect on individuals. "To him, if to any one man," says Mr. Froude, "the world owes the intellectual recovery of Romanism." We must, at any rate, grant with him that "of the magnitude of the phenomenon itself no reasonable person can doubt." Causes were in operation, apart from the personality of Newman, to bring about a second spring of the Church in England as throughout Europe. But the personality of Newman was, in its variety of gifts and power of

fascination, transcendent. He has been compared in outward form and character to Cæsar, and in the fiery keenness of his thought to Dante. Much there was in him that resembled Cæsar, though in so different a sphere ; his grace and clearness of speech, his loyalty to friends, his immeasurable daring, and his natural tone of supremacy. With Dante he never felt a conscious sympathy, and he could not read the *Divina Commedia*. Yet his own *Dream of Gerontius*, which will outlast everything but the *Apologia*, has many of the qualities characteristic of the Florentine.

What, indeed, gave his secession its unique value was the height to which he had risen as a complex and subtle genius, as poet, preacher, historian, controversialist, theologian, and saint. For he was all these at once, and in no common measure. And he manifested what he was in a lucid English that for transparency and depth, for the brightness of its irony, idiomatic strength, and tender pathos, remains at this day unapproachable.

The question that Newman brought home to the hearts and business of Englishmen was this : If so richly endowed a mind can submit to Rome, what argument is left for the average intellect whereby to withstand those peremptory claims ? If, again, not even his genius could save the *Via Media*, where is there standing-ground for the many who hate or despise the Papal Church, yet shrink from unbelief and desire to remain Christians ? His conversion implied that the problems of the age, instead of being dwarfed to petty strifes about the meaning or non-meaning of articles, had assumed their true dimensions. The force on one side was religious Liberalism, ending in "each man his own church and his own creed" ; while on the other there came forth an imperial, self-asserting authority, speaking in the name of a present Christ, and suffering neither rival nor rebellion because it held the keys of eternity. In his own person Newman had stated and resolved the great alternatives : either Christianity is a human invention destined to have its day, or the primal

indefectible Christianity is the Roman Church. It was fitting, then, that he should have advanced to his conclusion by sure steps though slow, that logic, and history, and the voice of conscience should play their several parts, and the evidence be weighed, and objections tested, and passion laid to rest. What was done in those ten years between 1833 and 1843 was done once for all ; and the track in the wilderness has grown to be a clear pathway since.

But though he shook, he did not convert, England. The innocent enthusiasts who hoped he would were as much in the wrong as Exeter Hall and the drivellers to whom a conquest of the nation, in spite of itself, by Popery, seems always impending. There was an unexampled secession of clergymen, amounting to hundreds ; and with them came in course of years certain thousands of the laity. But the time was not ripe. If it took ten years to bring Newman himself, it may well take a century or two to bring the nation. To the multitude Newman's conversion was an event without a reason ; to the coarse-minded it was the act of insanity. Well-nigh twenty years were to elapse ere it found an explanation ; and then by a happy concurrence of events Newman was allowed to speak, and his countrymen listened.

But before and after he had much to endure. The first half of his career, ending in 1845, was crowned by the grace of conversion which made amends for all his trials ; the second, lasting nearly as long, seemed to him as though it lay under a heavy cloud for the greater part, and upon that too a grace came from the hand of religion. For his elevation to the purple had much in it of the joy and beauty of a new life, and gave him, as nothing else could, a home in the hearts of Catholics without distinction of school or party.

On February 23, 1845, he finally quitted Oxford, and was called to Oscott by Dr. Wiseman. He stayed there till October, and then set out for Rome, where he was to study before his ordination to the priesthood. His home was in the College of Propaganda ; and he

was soon presented to Pius IX, who had been struck by his devout attitude as he prayed at the Confession of St. Peter. He was ordained priest by Cardinal Franks; his plan of founding an Oratory of St. Philip Neri was approved; and he came back to England on Christmas Eve, 1847. He had no ambitious views, nor could he tell what was in store for him. He lived successively at Maryvale or Old Oscott, at St. Wilfrid's College, Cheadle, and at Alcester Street, Birmingham, where, on June 25, 1849, the Oratory was established. He there spent, as Dr. Ullathorne bore witness, "several years of close and hard work," like the humblest and most heroic of missionary priests. A well-known episode was his charitable ministration at Bilston in 1849, with Father Ambrose St. John and another Oratorian, during a visitation of cholera. They went of their own accord when the Bishop had no other priests to spare. In 1850, the London Oratory was set up with Father Faber at its head; and the two houses became distinct and independent.

The restoration of the Catholic Hierarchy in September of the same year was to have important consequences for Father Newman. He preached his never to be forgotten sermon on *The Second Spring* at its opening Synod, held in the chapel of St. Mary's, Oscott—a sermon which Macaulay is said to have known by heart and from which he used to recite in tones of enthusiasm. In the foolish excitement about the so-called "Papal Aggression," Father Newman did not escape the lot of his fellow Catholics. He was called on to give in the Corn Exchange at Birmingham those eloquent and forcible *Lectures on the Position of Catholics* which, in their combination of humour, sarcasm, and close reasoning remind us of the strength, though they are free from the uncivil ruggedness, of Cobbett. How, in consequence of a certain page not to be found in the present editions, they brought Dr. Newman into court on a charge of libel, is matter of history. The Protestant hero of the day was a profligate Italian friar, Dr. Achilli, who had repeatedly broken his vows,

and who was then assailing in England the religion that had cast him out. It was required to set him down ; and with a touch of his Ithuriel weapon Father Newman accomplished it. The case went before Lord Campbell and a jury ; witnesses from Italy, Malta, and elsewhere bore out the charges against Achilli to their full extent ; but in the face of the evidence Dr. Newman was found guilty. Even the *Times* declared that there had been a miscarriage of justice. On January 29, 1853, Sir John Taylor Coleridge sentenced his old friend to a fine of £100, and imprisonment till it was paid. Paid of course it was instantly, but there remained the enormous costs, amounting to £12,000. From all parts of Europe, however, Catholics came forward with their contributions, in support of one who had gone through a most unpleasant task in obedience to duty, and with no personal motive. And Dr. Achilli was never heard of more.

In 1851, Dr. Newman was called from the Oratory, now established at Edgbaston, to be first Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin. The burden laid upon him was exceedingly great ; and, to quote Dr. Ullathorne, his name was "the chief point of attraction" that drew together the elements out of which the new institution had to be formed. To his sojourn in Ireland the Cardinal always looked back with affection for the friends and gratitude for the sympathy which he there met with. He worked and wrote incessantly. His *Idea of a University* and *Rise and Progress of Universities* added to his fame. But the establishment in Stephen's Green never had fair play. The problem of allowing Irish Catholics a University of their own proved too difficult for more than one Government, and has decided the fate of Cabinets in our time. It was worse than making bricks without straw to carry on a University whose degrees the Government would not recognise ; and Dr. Newman could only lay a foundation for the future. His position, also, in reference to the Irish Bishops was novel and delicate. He came back, therefore, not unwillingly, in 1858, and hence-

forth was to live a secluded life in his study at Edgbaston.

If the work in Ireland, owing to circumstances, had not proved a success, there was another that ought to have done so, the abandonment of which, involuntary on Dr. Newman's part, has been a heavy blow to the Church in England. I mean the projected translation of the Holy Scriptures under his guidance. It was suggested or proposed to him by Cardinal Wiseman ; and with characteristic energy he chose a company of writers, and began his own share of the undertaking. But from causes which have never been explained—publishers' interests, I believe, of some, but not of considerable, magnitude, were at stake—the translation was relinquished. Another severe disappointment was the failure of his scheme to establish an Oratory at Oxford, for which the ground had been secured. Propaganda was apprehensive that Dr. Newman's presence in Oxford might lead Catholics to imagine themselves absolutely free to send their sons thither. But an Oratory in Oxford over which Dr. Newman did not preside would have fallen short of its purpose. He remained at Edgbaston ; and there he set up a school which, so far as Catholic discipline would allow, was modelled upon the great public schools of England, and has turned out distinguished alumni.

We come now to the year 1864 and the *Apologia*. It is an oft-told tale, and perhaps the most interesting literary episode of the last half century. Nor by infinite repetition has it been staled. That impetuous anti-Catholic, Mr. Kingsley, in reviewing Mr. Froude's *History of England*, wrote in *Macmillan's Magazine* for January, 1864, that "Truth, for its own sake, had never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not, and on the whole ought not to be : that cunning is the weapon which heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is

given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is at least historically so." The number containing this monstrous accusation was sent by the late Canon Walker, of Scarborough, to Dr. Newman, who might otherwise never have seen it. He could not, in justice to himself or the Catholic priesthood, allow such a charge to pass ; and he drew Messrs. Macmillan's attention to it as "a grave and gratuitous slander." Mr. Kingsley at once, to Dr. Newman's amazement, took on himself the authorship ; but when asked for proof of what he had alleged, spoke in general terms of "many passages of your writings," and referred vaguely to one of the *Sermons on Subjects of the Day*, preached in a Protestant pulpit and published in 1844, entitled *Wisdom and Innocence*. He added, "I am most happy to hear from you that I mistook (as I understand from your letter) your meaning ; and I shall be most happy, on your showing me that I have wronged you, to retract my accusation as publicly as I have made it." He drafted a paragraph in which it was said, "Dr. Newman has by letter expressed in the strongest terms his denial of the meaning which I had put upon his words. No man knows the use of words better than Dr. Newman ; no man, therefore, has a better right to define what he does, or does not mean by them. It only remains, therefore, for me to express my hearty regret at having so seriously mistaken him ; and my hearty pleasure at finding him on the side of Truth, in this, or any other matter."

The page of criticism bestowed on this remarkable document when it came into Dr. Newman's hands, is one of the most brilliant he ever wrote. As a statement of fact, Mr. Kingsley's paragraph implied that Dr. Newman had been confronted with definite extracts from his works and had laid before Messrs. Macmillan his own interpretation of them. Nothing of the sort had been done. As an apology, it was even worse ; for it left on the reader's mind an impression that by clever verbal fencing the accused had got out of a charge that

was substantially true. However, in spite of Dr. Newman's disapproval, it appeared with the omission of a couple of sentences in February. But the matter could not rest there. Dr. Newman published the correspondence and brought out its drift in certain *Reflections* at the end, which, with their exquisite irony and decisive argument, took the world by storm.

Mr. Kingsley had the misfortune to reply. His pamphlet, *What then does Dr. Newman mean?* was an indictment of the whole career of his adversary, and repeated, in "wild and hurtling words," the charge of insincerity he had for a moment withdrawn. He went so far as to say, "I am henceforth in doubt and fear, as much as an honest man can be, concerning every word Dr. Newman may write." This, in a famous metaphor, Dr. Newman justly called "poisoning the wells"; it was by anticipation making an answer impossible. But his critic had asked, "What does Dr. Newman mean?"—and the reply came in the shape of an autobiography which has been compared with the *Confessions* of St. Augustine, and which lifted the quarrel into regions where malice and slander could not subsist. "Away with you, Mr. Kingsley, and fly into space," were the parting words addressed to that writer, whose strict honour and *hault courage* received now a not undeserved castigation.

There is not a little to set us thinking in the success of the *Apologia*. Every one read it, and as each of the seven parts came out, between April 21st and June 2nd, the interest grew until the nation seemed to be listening with one accord. City clerks were seen studying it as they went down to their offices in the morning; it was the topic of conversation in drawing-rooms, and was referred to by preachers; and, on the Catholic side, it led to addresses of congratulation from the chapters and clergy of various dioceses at home and abroad. That his co-religionists should have thus welcomed it was natural; but it does not speak well for the public at large that they waited twenty years to

find a justification of Dr. Newman in the *Apologia*, when, so far back as his *Lectures on Anglican Difficulties*, he had explained, with frank eloquence, the grounds with which his reading of history had furnished him for changing from one communion to another. Even now there are too many who speak and think of him as if he had never written anything but the *Apologia*.

Mr. Kingsley, indeed, was but giving expression to the prejudice that had long taken hold of the English public and made the charge of dishonesty plausible—though for no other reason than that “when much is imputed, much must be true.” Or, if there was another reason, we must seek it in the scrupulous fidelity to conscience that prompted Newman, instead of breaking with the English Church as soon as he suspected it, to wait some six years lest imagination should deceive him. Nothing short of the *Apologia*, with its portraiture of the living intelligence by which, said Newman, “I write, and argue, and act,” could give the key to his life. The English people at once accepted Dr. Newman’s account of himself; they replied to Mr. Kingsley by admitting, in the words of Professor Froude, that “Newman’s whole life had been a struggle for the truth,” and they saw that “he had brought to bear a most powerful and subtle intellect to support the convictions of a conscience which was superstitiously sensitive.” Henceforth, as regarded his Protestant fellow-countrymen, Dr. Newman’s strangely appropriate motto was to be realized, *Cor ad cor loquitur*. He became the object of their veneration and attachment; they were proud of him; and, if I may so express myself, they condoned his change of religion for the sake of the personal qualities which they now prized at a transcendent value.

On the love and veneration of his Catholic brethren he might surely always count; but the times were difficult, discussion was rife, and men like Dr. Ward, whose ways of thought differed from his own, were not altogether content with what they deemed his views.

Dr. Newman, as modest as he was gifted, would publish nothing on formal theology after his submission to the Church. But he could not help writing on topics into which theology entered ; and as he employed his own marked literary style rather than the scientific expressions with which many trained in the schools were familiar, it is not wonderful that there was sometimes room for misapprehension. He said long after, on receiving the purple, " I have nothing of that high perfection which belongs to the writings of the saints—namely, that error could not be found in them ; but what I trust I may claim throughout all I have written is this, an honest intention, an absence of private ends, a temper of obedience, a willingness to be corrected, a dread of error, a desire to serve Holy Church, and through divine mercy a fair share of success." If any doubted his " firm faith in the Catholic Church " or his " loyalty to the Holy See," they wronged themselves even more than this noble and single-minded genius, who had submitted to his Bishop, in Anglican times, as if he were the Pope, and who was ready, as Archbishop Ullathorne testified, to go beyond the slightest intimation of his superior's desire, where questions arose bearing on ecclesiastical duty.

The year 1869 arrived, and the Vatican Council began. Among those who had been invited to Rome as eminent theologians, fitted to advise the Holy See, was the great Oratorian. He declined ; perhaps among other reasons, because he was engaged on the *Grammar of Assent*. But he took a keen interest in the Council's proceedings ; and, when it was certain that the definition of the Pope's infallibility would be brought forward, friends for whom he was anxious, both Catholic and Anglican, urged him to use his influence on the other side. He doubted the expediency of a definition, not its possibility. As a matter of fact, he held and taught the doctrine itself, as he says, " long before the Vatican Council was dreamed of " ; and he was able, in 1872, to quote the splendid rhetoric in which he declared " the voice of him to whom have been committed the keys of

the kingdom," to be "now, as ever it has been, a real authority, infallible when it teaches." Not, therefore, on the score of its erroneousness, nor at all on his own account, was Dr. Newman anxious ; but he felt for those who came to him, and asked himself whether he ought not to make his feelings public.

In this frame of mind he wrote a letter to his Bishop, Dr. Ullathorne, which was surreptitiously copied into the *Standard*. It could not but make a great stir. The author declared, truly enough, that it was a private letter, never meant for publication. And as he had not denied the Papal Infallibility before definition, he had no hesitation in accepting the decree of July 18, 1870, which made it an article of faith. Very soon circumstances called upon him, not only to proclaim his belief in the dogma, but to explain and defend its scope and nature. The German bishops, headed by that saintly man, Von Ketteler of Mayence, who had opposed the definition, had afterwards submitted and fought for it as an integral part of the Catholic teaching against Prince Bismarck. In somewhat similar fashion the English champion was drawn into the arena, and acquitted himself as loyally.

In 1873, Mr. Gladstone's Government was overthrown on the Irish University question ; and in 1874 a strong Conservative administration succeeded. It was not in Mr. Gladstone to endure defeat patiently ; he was wroth with the Irish Bishops, whom he chose to look upon as acting under orders from Rome ; and first in the pages of a magazine, and then in a pamphlet on the *Vatican Decrees*, of which one hundred and twenty thousand copies were sold in a few weeks, he turned and did what in him lay to rend the militant Catholicism which he deemed his foe. The question was, of course, whether a man who acknowledged the Pope could be loyal to the Queen. Mr. Gladstone did his best—in the face, at all events, of much in English history—to show that this was impossible. He took the "high priori" road of analyzing documents and arguing in the abstract, and de-

clared that Rome had broken with ancient history and modern thought.

Catholics had no choice but to reply. There came a shower of pamphlets, and a call for Dr. Newman. The latter reluctantly took up his pen; he had no wish to engage in polemics with Mr. Gladstone or any one else. He might have declined, by saying in the words of the poet, "Mine is a time of peace." But he came forward once more; and his last considerable work, the *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, showed that his hand had not lost its cunning, nor his eloquence its charm. As of old he was impressive, graceful, lucid, and winning. And the honours of the controversy remained with him; for Mr. Gladstone, in acknowledging the personal loyalty of "the Queen's Roman Catholic subjects," gave up the point for which he had contended. Lookers-on decided that he had taken nothing by his motion; and Pius IX was heard to say that Dr. Newman had done well in answering him.

It was high time that the champion of the faith should receive those public honours which were his due. But the first recognition came from Oxford. In 1877 Dr. Newman was elected Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, which had been "dear to him from undergraduate memories." He returned, in a kind of triumph, to the University, after an absence of over thirty years. He became the guest of the President of Trinity, dined at the high table in his academic dress, and visited Dr. Pusey at Christ Church. Once before, since becoming a Catholic, he and Pusey and Keble had met at Hursley Vicarage, and dined there by themselves, September 13, 1865. Keble was now dead, with the reputation of an Anglican Saint; and a college at Oxford, to which his old friend paid a visit, perpetuates his name and memory. When the second edition of his *Development* was ready, Dr. Newman dedicated it to the President and Fellows of the College that had restored him to Oxford. He preached there again in May, 1880; and when his

unhappy friend of former days, Mark Pattison, was dying, he paid him a last affectionate visit at Lincoln College.

Only the crowning honour remained. Holy Church, too, would recognize the lifelong devotion to truth, the humility and detachment from things below, which had given to John Henry Newman a spiritual authority far surpassing that of any English or perhaps European writer of his time. In February, 1878, Pius IX died and Leo XIII succeeded. The eyes of the new Pontiff, who was raising distinguished prelates to the purple outside of Italy, were directed towards the studious recluse at Edgbaston ; and early in 1879 it began to be rumoured that he had offered Dr. Newman a Cardinal's hat, and that the offer had been with great humility declined. A paragraph to this effect appeared in the *Times* ; for a week or two the question " Cardinal or not Cardinal " roused an interest almost like that which had attended the *Apologia*, but it was set at rest by the statement that Dr. Newman had never declined the honour ; that he had but laid reasons before the Holy Father why, at his age, and taking into account his way of life, such a change would be almost too great for him to bear ; that Leo XIII had replied in the kindest manner, allowing the new Cardinal every exemption, and promising that he should still live at Edgbaston ; and that the journey to Rome was fixed. Addresses of congratulation began to pour in ; and, wonderful to say, Protestant England felt that Leo XIII was doing it an honour in naming a fresh English Cardinal. The change from 1850 was complete and astonishing. Dr. Newman seemed to be taking a nation with him into the Sacred College. The event was, not unreasonably, compared to the nomination of Cardinal Bessarion after the reconciliation of the Greeks at Florence ; for, all things considered, it was not only a token of " Rome's unwearyed love " to the English race, but a sign that the old No-Popery feeling was, at length, dying away.

Dr. Newman set out for Rome, April 16, 1879. He was accompanied by Fathers Neville and Pope, and arrived in the Eternal City on the 24th. The journey had tried him; and although he was strong enough to be received by the Holy Father, who gave him a most cordial welcome, he suffered much during his stay in Rome. The formal announcement of his creation as Cardinal Deacon was conveyed to him on May 12th at the Palazzo della Pigna, where a brilliant throng of English and American Catholics, and of high dignitaries, lay and ecclesiastical, surrounded him. On that occasion he delivered an address which will be long remembered.

"First of all," he said, "I am led to speak of the wonder and profound gratitude which came upon me, and which is still upon me, at the condescension of love towards me of the Holy Father in signalling me out for so immense an honour. It was a great surprise. Such an elevation had never come into my thoughts, and seemed to be out of keeping with all my antecedents. I had passed through many trials, but they were over, and now the end of all things had almost come to me, and I was at peace. And was it possible that, after all, I had lived through so many years for this? Nor is it easy to say how I could have borne so great a shock, had not the Holy Father resolved on a second condescension towards me, which tempered it, and was to all who heard of it a touching evidence of his kindly and generous nature. He felt for me, and he told me the reasons why he had raised me to this high position. His act, he said, was a recognition of my zeal and good service in the Catholic cause. Moreover, he judged it would give pleasure to English Catholics, and even to Protestant England, if I received some mark of his favour. After such gracious words from his Holiness, I should have been insensible and heartless if I had had scruples any longer."

He went on, in words already quoted, to claim for what he might have written, not immunity from error,

but an honest intention and a temper of obedience. And then he spoke of the one great mischief to which he had from the first opposed himself. For thirty, forty, fifty years he had resisted, to the best of his powers, Liberalism in the Church; and he renewed his protest now against the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion. It was a teaching which was gaining force daily. People were bent on solving the problem of securing the submission of the masses to law and order without the aid of Christianity. This great apostacy threatened in England a formidable success. Nevertheless, he had no fear, for he believed in the ultimate triumph of the Church over the secular principle.

Such was the address of which Dr. Pusey wrote: "It was a beautiful speech; the old John Henry Newman speaking out the truth, yet not wounding a single heart." The sensation it created was due no less to the consistency of a life's history than to the strength and boldness of its enunciations. Once more, its author, in protesting against the revolt from authority, brought the question of this age, and of all ages, to an issue. He had said in 1850 to his Anglican friends, "We must either give up belief in the Church as a divine institution altogether, or we must recognize it in the communion of which the Pope is the head;" and that "the question lies between the Church and no divine messenger at all; there is no revelation given us unless she is the organ of it; for where else is there a prophet to be found?" And now he pointed out to the world at large that, if they dreamt of taking the other alternative, and holding that there is "nothing positive, nothing real in any of our notions as to whence we come and whither we are going," they would find the logic of facts too strong for them and anarchy the inevitable consequence.

The Holy Father assigned to him the ancient Church of San Giorgio in Velabro as his title, so that he had now become the Cardinal of St. George. He took leave of Rome at the beginning of June; and after a slow journey, broken at Pisa by illness, came back on July 1st

to his devoted people at Edgbaston. The ceremony of receiving him, at which I was present, was extremely touching, and when he spoke of coming home for good, to stay there until he should be called to his long home, many were moved to tears. He changed nothing of his simple habits of life. Addresses came from the English hierarchy, from the Catholic University in Dublin, from colleges and institutions all over the land, from his own congregation, from America, and from far-away New South Wales. To each he returned a word of graceful thanks. Later on, he was present at the consecration of the new London Oratory, a remarkable era in the development of Catholicism among us. He published an essay on the Inspiration of Scripture which was indirectly occasioned by M. Renan's *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*; and he gave a short but effective answer to Dr. Fairbairn, who had revived, in a haze of metaphysical discussion, the obsolete charge that Cardinal Newman's governing idea was scepticism. During his last years the strength of the master began to fail him, although his mind lost none of its clearness, and he retained an interest, as ever, in the questions and controversies of the day. Writing became a physical effort, but not until his task had been quite fulfilled. The revised edition of his works, including even his laborious version from St. Athanasius, was complete; and he could wait in happy resignation for the end. The picture of his life at the Oratory, with its long hours of meditation, busy correspondence and calm poetic solitude, had an attraction of its own for the world outside, which increased as years went on. When the Catholic Conference met in July, 1890, his last public act was to receive a deputation from them, and to express the interest he felt in the Catholic Truth Society. He spoke almost like a shadow from beyond the grave.

And so he died, after less than two days' illness of an attack of pneumonia, a few minutes before nine, on Monday night, August 11, 1890. For some hours he had lain unconscious. His last whispered words were the Christian name of his dear friend, Fr. William

Neville, who had tended him during his declining years. Once again the heart of England was stirred ; on every side men bore witness to his faith and piety, even more than to his genius. No public man of our century has evoked a more truly national recognition on his departure ; and this man, it was remarked, was a Roman Catholic priest and a Cardinal. For the place of his interment, he had chosen a sequestered nook at Rednal, eight miles from Birmingham, near the little country house he had built there for the Fathers. In the same grave, his friend Fr. Ambrose St. John, who, for two-and-thirty years, as he wrote, had been his life under God, was already laid to rest. There, on August 19, 1890, the great Cardinal was buried, amid the tears of thousands, while the English-speaking races all over the world joined, without distinction of creed, in the tribute of reverence paid to him.

To speak of the forty volumes in which his message to the world is contained would be impossible now, if I am to do them justice. They range through all the forms of literature and touch upon innumerable questions. Occasional in their origin, and often hurried in their composition, each of them has still the highly wrought finish proper to a classic, and, whether the movement of their periods be solemn or swift, their graceful poise and consummate ease of expression are such that a reader may well believe he has something like the finest Greek prose before him. A wonderful light dwells upon the pages of the *Oxford Sermons*, the *Essay on Justification*, the *Sermons to Mixed Congregations*, and the *Dream of Gerontius*. In the Catholic period of his life there seems added a deep, warm colouring, and a power of terrible imagery, as though the stern drawings of an Albert Dürer had been suddenly quickened into Dantean life, and had caught the hues of Italian genius. Newman's Anglican writings are clear and cold ; when he became a Catholic, it was like going into a Southern atmosphere, all glow and sunshine ; his nature expanded, his eloquence took fire, and the passionate energy that had been seeking for an

object found it in preaching the visible kingdom of Christ. He wrote of men and their ways with an intimate, overwhelming knowledge ; history was to him a present drama ; and whilst, in the art of marshalling facts and grouping characteristic personages he owed something to Gibbon, the enthusiasm which enabled him to live past ages over again was all his own. But to the last he was a denizen rather of the ancient Church than the modern, though never a mere antiquarian ; he was at home with the Basils and the Gregories, and moved up and down the early centuries like one to whom they were a familiar inheritance. The story of *Callista*, the *Church of the Fathers*, and the charming *Historical Sketches* reproduce in vivid outline a world quite different from the present.

With later centuries, on the whole, he had little in common ; mediæval or modern literature did not draw him their way. He was a finished Greek and Latin scholar ; but though he read French and Italian, they hardly interested him ; and Dean Stanley's epigram marks him entirely a stranger to German. These limitations extend to something more than language. At no time did Cardinal Newman busy himself with the details, whether of critical problems in Bible literature, or of scientific, such as Darwin had raised, bearing on religion in general. Although he was the first English writer that uttered the word "development," anticipating Mr. Spencer no less than Darwin himself, he never entered publicly into the questions suggested thereby in the history of the race or the globe. He declined the invitation of the Committee for revising the English New Testament, on the ground that he had not made the text of the sacred volume his special study. Nor again was he versed in the technicalities of the Schools. He stood outside the contemporary movements which are represented, on the one side, by the revived study of St. Thomas Aquinas, and on the other, by the "worship of Goethe," and the widespread influence of French and German culture.

When he wrote of Liberalism, he dwelt upon Lord

Brougham rather than Mr. Carlyle. Little will be found in the *Grammar of Assent* to indicate that he lived amid the growth of agnostic teaching, or the ravages of scientific atheism, although a phrase here and there betrays how closely he was watching the downward course of events. But he contented himself with suggesting principles which make unbelief and hesitation about the fundamental truths impossible to a religious mind. To the irreligious he did not address himself. His conviction was that at no time had "the world" hearkened to the divine message, or the flesh ceased to lust against the spirit. Among the closing words of his life we find a severe denunciation of that world as Antichrist, as a false prophet whose weapons are a deluding philosophy, a lascivious literature, and an ingrained cynicism. He did not hope to convert it; he could only protest that it was not of the truth.

But one thing he did, with such triumphant success that it need not be done again. He showed that the question of Rome is the question of Christianity. Taking Bishop Butler's great work for his foundation, he applied to the Catholic Church that *Analogy* which had proved in the Bishop's hands an irrefragable argument. As, if we hold the course of Nature to be in accordance with reason, we cannot but allow that natural and revealed religion, proceeding as they do on similar laws, and by like methods, are founded on reason too—so, if once we admit that in the Bible there is a revelation from on high, we must come down by sure steps to Rome and the Papacy as inheriting what the Bible contains. To demonstrate this was to make an end of the Reformation, so far as it claimed authority from Scripture, or kindred with Christ and His Apostles. When John Henry Newman arrived at the conclusion and followed it up by submitting to Rome, he undid, intellectually speaking, the mischief of the last three centuries. And he planted in the minds of his countrymen a suspicion, which every day seems ripening towards certitude, that if they wish to remain Christians they must go back to the rock from which they were

hewn, and become once again the sheep of the Apostolic Shepherd. Cardinal Newman has done this great thing ; and its achievement will be his lasting memorial.

We cannot but hope that, with his own Gerontius, the mighty spirit is now saying :

I went to sleep ; and now I am refreshed,
A strange refreshment ; for I feel in me
An inexpressive lightness, and a sense
Of freedom, as I were at length myself
And ne'er had been before.

Surely he has seen his desire, and leaving shadows, is at rest in the truth, "*Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem.*"

WHY I LEFT THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND*

BY JAMES BRITTEN, K.C.S.G.

I WISH to begin this lecture with an apology. No one can be better aware than I am that, except to one person—myself—the reasons which impel me to any course of action are of the very slightest importance—or rather, of no importance at all. This lecture is, like others of our course, the sequence of one delivered lately in this neighbourhood in connection with the Protestant Alliance: the title is an adaptation of that adopted on the former occasion; and the fact that up and down the country, various people, including more or less escaped nuns and others, are telling audiences—sometimes large ones—why they “left the Church of Rome,” seems to show that the experiences of what used to be called ’verts are still attractive.

The reasons which people allege for leaving one communion and joining another are very various, and sometimes very curious. Mr. Fitzgerald, for example, said he became a Protestant because of the ignorance of the Catholic clergy and the worship of images. Well, as to ignorance, those who heard Mr. Fitzgerald will agree with me in thinking that he is hardly a competent judge; and as to the worship of images—supposing for one moment, what every Catholic will resent as an impossibility, that Catholics fell into so gross a sin—I would remark that the Jewish people more than once did the same, without thereby ceasing to be the people of God. Another Protestant lecturer was so shocked by the definition of Papal Infal-

* [A Lecture delivered in March, 1893, in St. George’s School, Southwark, in answer to one given by a Mr. Fitzgerald, of the Protestant Alliance. The date of the lecture must be borne in mind by the readers of the pamphlet, which, save for a footnote on p. 20, is reprinted without alteration.]

libility in 1870, that she—at once left the Church? Oh dear no! remained in it for eighteen years, and then withdrew. A Nonconformist friend of mine told me the other day that his sister had joined the Church of England. “You see,” he said, “she is a wise woman. She told me she found that if her daughters were to mix in the best society, they must be Church people, so she and her husband joined the Establishment.” Another friend, who had been a Baptist all his life, suddenly joined the Established Church. “The fact of it was,” he said to me, “they were always quarrelling at the chapel so one day I said I’d had enough of it, and I took the girls off to church—and now I’ve had them confirmed there, and we like it.” I do not think these were good reasons for changing one’s belief; my object, however, is not to criticize other people’s reasons, but to give you my own, and this I will proceed to do without further delay.

One thing only I will add,—an assurance that I am most anxious to avoid anything which can in any way hurt the feelings of those who differ from me. I have no reason, indeed, for speaking harshly or disrespectfully of the Church of England. To one section of it I owe my training in many Catholic doctrines, while to another section I am indebted for having opened my eyes to the fact that these doctrines were not the doctrines of the Church of England. You will hear from me no attacks upon the character of the Anglican clergy, not only because I believe them to be an excellent body of men, but because, even if they were not so, their personal shortcomings would no more invalidate their teachings than the character of Balaam invalidated the truth of his prophetic utterances. It would, I think, be well if some Protestant lecturers would bear this in mind, just as they might remember that a Church which could claim the allegiance of a Newman and a Manning is hardly likely to be as corrupt or as ignorant as they would have their hearers suppose.

From my earliest days, I was brought up at St. Barnabas’, Pimlico—one of the churches most intimately associated with the growth of High Church views in London. It was opened in 1850, and among those who preached on

the occasion was the late Cardinal (then Archdeacon) Manning. In 1851 the Protestant feeling of a certain section of the community was roused. The riots which from time to time have disgraced the Protestant party,—which, nevertheless, claims toleration as one of its virtues—and which culminated some years later in the scandalous scenes at St. George's in the East, broke out here. The timid Bishop of London closed the church and caused the resignation of Mr. Bennett, who received the living of Frome Selwood, Somerset, where he died some few years since, deeply regretted by his flock, whom he had familiarized with almost every Catholic doctrine and practice. It is worth noting, as showing the marvellous stride which Ritualism has made in the last forty years, that at St. Barnabas' the only then unusual ornaments were a plain cross and two candles on the Holy Table; an oak screen before the chancel, surmounted by a cross; a surpliced choir; and a service modelled on that of the English cathedrals.* No vestments save the ordinary surplice and black stole; no incense; no banners; no prayers save those in the Book of Common Prayer. The ornaments of the church, which forty years ago, had to be closed to protect it from the mob, would now hardly excite the notice of the Church Association.

My own memory dates, I suppose, from somewhere about 1856. The two great waves of conversion to the Catholic Church, which followed the secession of Newman in 1845 and Manning in 1851, had passed: and in spite of occasional Protestant outbursts, the effects of Protestant lectures, and the adverse judgements of Privy Councils and other bodies, the High Church movement was steadily and everywhere gaining ground.

I will as briefly as possible tell you what I was taught to believe. First I was taught that Our Lord founded a Church, which He had built on the foundation of His Apostles, He Himself being the chief corner stone: that He had conferred on His Apostles certain powers by which they were enabled to carry on His work; that the

* There was indeed, a stone altar, which was subsequently removed, but this being covered was not conspicuously different from an ordinary table.

Apostles had the power of forgiving sins, of consecrating the Eucharist, and of transmitting to their successors the supernatural power which they had themselves received : that the Apostles and those whom they consecrated were the rulers of the Christian Church : that this Church had power to define what was to be believed, and that it could not err, because of the promise of Christ that He would be with it, even to the end of the world : that the Church, moreover, was divinely guided in a very special manner by the Holy Ghost, and that its definitions to the end of time were inspired by the Holy Ghost, of whom Christ had said, " When He, the Spirit of Truth is come, He shall lead you into all truth " : that the Church and not the Bible was God's appointed teacher : that the traditions of the Church were of equal authority with the Bible : and that the Church was the only authorized interpreter of the latter.

I was further taught that the grace of God was conveyed to the soul principally by means of the Sacraments, and that by Baptism the stain of original sin was removed. With regard to the Real Presence of our Lord in the Holy Communion, I can best explain the teaching that I received by saying that I was never conscious of any change of belief when I became a Catholic. The books which I used as an Anglican I could use equally well as a Catholic ; they were compiled almost exclusively from Catholic sources, and before ever I had entered a Catholic church or read a Catholic book, I was familiar with the wonderful eucharistic hymns of St. Thomas, and the other doctrinal hymns, modern as well as ancient, of the Catholic Church.

I do not think that in those days we were taught, as Anglicans are taught now, that there were seven Sacraments, but the practical result was the same. I shall never forget the care with which I was prepared for Confirmation ; it never occurred to me to doubt that the clergy had the power of forgiving sins ; indeed, I think I exaggerated this power, for I thought that the declaration of absolution at Matins and Evensong was sacramental. Confession was not urged as it is now, and confessionals were not as they are now, openly placed in the churches ; but in sermons and in private instruction the " benefit of

absolution " as the Prayer-book calls it, was referred to, and we knew that confessions were heard in the sacristy. I have already said that we believed in the apostolic succession—in other words, in the Sacrament of Orders; and it was difficult to ignore the plain command of St. James as to Extreme Unction—indeed, I have never been able to understand, save on the basis of Luther's well-known saying that the Epistle of James was "a matter of straw," how Protestants evade compliance with this text.

As to externals, although in those days these had developed but little, the principle of them was laid down. We were told—and I do not see how any one can deny it—that there were two rituals authorized by Almighty God—the ancient Jewish rite, and the mystical vision of the Apocalypse. In both were found the symbolic use of vestments and incense, music and ceremonial: nowhere did we find any indication that these externals were to be done away, and we knew that the Christian Church adopted them from as early a period as was possible. The English Church, indeed, was shorn of her splendour, but the time would come when she would arise and put on her beautiful garments; and if there should be any High Churchman among my hearers, he will say, and say truly, that that time *has* come, and that, so far as externals go, the Established Church can now vie successfully with the Roman ritual in splendour and dignity.

And as with other externals so with music. Among the many things for which I am grateful to those who brought me up, few are more present to me than the love which they gave me for the old plain chant of the Church—the chant which we called Gregorian, thereby giving honours to the great Pope who sent St. Augustine to bring this nation unto God. And with the old chants we had the old words—not only the Psalms of David, but the words of the Fathers of the Church in her hymns—of St. Ambrose, and St. Gregory, and St. Bede, and St. Thomas Aquinas: for in those early days not a hymn was sung in that church which had not upon it the hall-mark of antiquity.

To the same hand which translated most of these hymns into sonorous and manly English, I owed my

knowledge of the lives of the Saints, as portrayed in the volumes setting forth the "Triumphs of the Cross" and the "Followers of the Lord." To Dr. Neale—that great liturgical scholar—I shall always feel a debt of gratitude for having made me understand, however imperfectly, what is meant by the Communion of Saints, and for having brought to my knowledge that wonderful store-house of saintly history which is among the many treasures of the Catholic Church. It is true that we did not then, as Anglicans do now, invoke them, or address our litanies to the Mother of God; yet the veneration of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints was inculcated upon us in many ways.

So with the observance not only of festivals, but of fasts—the duty of keeping both was impressed on us. The brightness of the sanctuary, with its many lights and flowers, and the stately procession chanting psalms, were associated with all the great Christian festivals, making "the beauty of holiness," something more than a name; while the times of self-denial and the penitential season of Lent were brought home to us by the silent organ and the violet-hung sanctuary. The duty of supporting our pastors, the equality of all men before God,

"Who has but one same death for a hind,
And one same death for a king,"

were also taught us, as fully as the Church herself teaches them.

You may wonder what were the impressions I received with regard to the Catholic Church on one side, and Nonconformists on the other. With regard to the Church I was taught that there were three branches—the Anglican, the Greek and the Roman—and that of these three the Catholic Church was made up: that in this country the Church of England represented the Catholic Church, and that the Roman branch had no business here—though I am thankful to say that I cannot remember ever having heard at St. Barnabas' a single sermon against Roman Catholics, or an uncharitable word regarding them. I therefore had none of those prejudices which seem inseparable from certain forms of Protestantism—prejudices which prevent even a fair hearing of the Catholic position.

I remember one sermon on the honour due to the Blessed Virgin, in which the Roman devotion to her was spoken of as excessive ; and another on St. Peter, in which his primacy as distinct from her supremacy was acknowledged ; but until I was seventeen I never heard the Protestant side of the Church of England advanced from any pulpit, although then, as now, the itinerant Protestant lecturer presented to those who were credulous enough to accept his statements a caricature of the Catholic Church. In those days a Mr. Edward Harper, who had some prominent position in the Orange Society, occupied the place which is now held by Mr. Collette, and was filled, until lately, by Mr. Mark Knowles.

I ought to add that I had never attended a Roman Catholic service, and had only once entered a Catholic church. This was the old Oratory, into which I went one winter afternoon on my way to the South Kensington Museum. One of the few things I knew about what I considered the Roman branch of the Church was that the Blessed Sacrament was reserved on its altars, and I remember kneeling in the dark, flat-roofed Oratory, with its lamp burning before the altar, in adoration of the Presence which I felt to be there. I was quite sure—for I had never heard it called in question—that the views I have given were those of the Church of England : that the Reformation, disastrous as it was in many ways, had not broken the apostolic succession : and that the Western and Eastern Churches, equally with the Anglican, had Orders and Sacraments, and were of the unity of the Faith.

With Nonconformists it was different. They had no authorized ministry, and therefore no Sacraments. They had thrown off the authority of the Church, and substituted their own interpretation of the Bible. They were the followers of Korah, Dathan and Abiram ; against them was directed the warning, " Mark those who cause divisions among you, and avoid them." I am afraid that we looked upon them as socially inferior to ourselves—certainly as people to be avoided—and as " Protestants," a term which even then Anglicans held in contempt. With Catholics we had much in common—indeed, we

were Catholic ourselves : but Dissent, with its numberless divisions, absence of dignity, unauthorized teachers, and ugly conventicles, was far from us, and with it we could hold no communion.

This was my position, until, at about the age of eighteen, I went into the country to study medicine. I shall never forget my first Sunday there. There was a magnificent old parish church, with deep chancel and broad aisles, choked up with pews of obstructive design. A small table with a shabby red cloth stood away under the picture which concealed the east window ; a choir of a handful of men and boys, unsurpliced and untidy, sang the slender allowance of music ; a parish clerk responded for the congregation ;—these were the objects that met my eyes and ears that first Sunday of my exile. But that was not all. We had a sermon delivered by a preacher in a black gown—to me a new and hideous vestment—on behalf of the Sunday-schools. That sermon I shall always remember. In the course of it, the preacher enumerated the things they did *not* teach the children in the schools : they did *not* teach them they were born again in baptism, they did *not* teach that the clergy were descended from the Apostles, they did *not* teach that they had power to forgive sins, they did *not* teach a real presence in the Communion—“ Real *presence* ! ” I heard a parson say in that church : “ I believe in a real *absence* ! ”—they did not teach the doctrine of good works. I began to wonder what was left to be taught, until the preacher explained that predestination and salvation by faith alone were inculcated upon the children. On the next Sunday the Holy Communion was administered—*how*, I can hardly describe, except by saying that it was manifest that no belief in its supernatural aspect was maintained. I can see now the parish clerk at the end of the service, walking up the chancel, and the minister coming towards him with the paten in one hand and the chalice in the other, waiting, while he, standing, ate and drank the contents of each.

My first feeling was that these clergy had no right or place in the Church of England. There was a moderately “ high ” church five miles off, and whenever I could, I

found my way there. But it became unpleasantly plain that the Church of England, which I had regarded as an infallible guide, spoke with two voices:—I began to realize that even on vital matters two diametrically opposed opinions not only *could be*, but *were*, held and preached. I knew my Book of Common Prayer and its rubrics as well as I knew my Bible; but to one part of it my attention had never been called, as it now was Sunday by Sunday. I had known without realizing all that it implied, that the Queen was, in some way, the Head of the Church—or rather, of two churches, one in England and one in Scotland: but I now found that she declared herself to be “Supreme Governor of the Church of England, and by God’s ordinance, Defender of the Faith”: that General Councils, which I had been taught to believe infallible, could not be held “without the commandment and will of princes,” and “may err, and sometimes have erred, in things pertaining unto God”: that Confirmation, Penance, and the like, were not Sacraments of the Gospel: that the benefits of Baptism were “confined to them that receive it rightly”: that the reception of the Body of Christ in the Holy Communion is dependent on the faith of the recipient: and that “the sacrifices of Masses . . . were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.” This last was indeed a trial to me. It is true that twenty-five years ago the word “Mass” was not in common use among Anglicans as it is now, and I do not think an Anglican clergyman would have been found to say in public, as one said the other day, that “he would not stay a minute in a church where the Mass was not, for if they had not got the Mass, they had no worship whatever. But we knew that the term was retained in the first reformed Prayer-book, and that it was the name employed throughout the Western Church for the Eucharistic service.

Here then was my difficulty: and the more I faced it the more I found that the ground which I had thought so sure was slipping away from under me. Not, thank God, that I ever doubted any of the truths which had been implanted in me: but I began to see, more and more clearly, that the authority on which I had thought them to rest was altogether lacking. I found that what

I had received as the teaching of a Church was only the teaching of a certain section of its clergy, and that other clergy, with exactly as much authority, taught directly opposite opinions: they were not priests, they said: they claimed to offer no sacrifice; no office of forgiving sins was theirs; they possessed no supernatural powers.

This was bad enough, but there was worse behind. The other branches of the Church—what did they say on these momentous points? Alas! there was no room for doubt here. Neither the Eastern nor Western “branches,” each of them far larger than the Anglican, would admit for a moment the claims of the Anglican clergy to be priests: and a large section of themselves equally denied it. The bishops in some cases expressly told the candidates for ordination that they were not made priests; and if there were no priests, how could the sacraments depending on them be celebrated? It was no special ill-will to Anglicans that Rome showed by refusing to recognize their orders; for she never denied those of the Greeks, although these were equally separated from her unity. The Branch Theory broke down—it would not work.

Then I read other books, many of them by Newman, for whom Anglicans in those days cherished a warm affection and respect in spite of his secession. And more and more the conviction was forced upon me that I had received the beliefs in which I had been brought up on the authority of certain individual members of a body which not only tolerated, but taught with equal authority the exact opposite of these beliefs—that the Anglican Communion, even as represented by those who claimed for it Catholicity, was a mere Protestant sect, differing only from more recent denominations in that it retained certain shreds and patches of the old faith. It was, in short, a compromise—a *via media* between Rome and Dissent—and it was as unsatisfactory as compromises usually are.

Meanwhile there came upon me more and more plainly the claims of a Church which taught with authority all that I believed; which claimed to be the one body having a right to teach; and which, without equivocation or

hesitation, pointed out to its members one only means of salvation. By one of those occurrences which we call accidents I became acquainted with a Catholic priest—one of the first of those Anglicans who gave up friends and position and everything that could make life happy at the call of their Master. From him I learned what was hitherto lacking to my knowledge of the Church; I realized, as I had never done before, that the first mark of God's Church was unity—a mark which no one can pretend to find in the Church of England: and after a period of anxiety such as none can know who have not experienced it, I was received into that unity.

Of my experience since, you will not expect me to speak. If I must say anything, I will venture to employ the words of Cardinal Newman, which express better than any words of mine could, my feelings now:—"From the day I became a Catholic to this day, I have never had a moment's misgiving that the Communion of Rome is the Church which the Apostles set up at Pentecost, which alone has 'the adoption of sons, and the glory, and the covenants, and the revealed law, and the service of God, and the promises,' and in which the Anglican Communion whatever its merits and demerits, whatever the great excellence of individuals in it, has, as such, no part. Nor have I ever for a moment hesitated in my conviction that it was my duty to join the Catholic Church, which in my own conscience I felt to be divine."

When I had told the friends with whom I was living that I had become a Catholic, the result somewhat astonished me: and those good Protestants who assume—as many do—that persecution and Popery are inseparably connected, while Protestantism and liberty of conscience are convertible terms, may like to know what happened. My desk was broken open; my private letters were stolen; letters sent me through the post were intercepted, opened, and sometimes detained; I was prevented from going to a Catholic church and from seeing a Catholic priest; a picture of the Crucifixion which I had had in my room for years, was profaned in a way which I do not care to characterize. These things are small and trifling compared with what many have

suffered, but what light do not even they throw upon that right of private judgement which Protestants profess to hold so dear !

One thing which seemed to me at my conversion remarkable still remains to me one of the most wonderful features of Protestantism—the universal assumption that Catholics do not know what they themselves believe, and that Protestants understand it far better. The average Protestant for instance, thinks and often asserts that we believe that the Pope cannot sin, that we worship images, that we are disloyal to the Crown, that we put Our Lady in the place of God, that we sell absolution for money and have a recognized tariff for the remission of sins, that we may not read the Bible, that we would burn every Protestant if we could, that we lie habitually, that our convents are haunts of vice, that our priests are knaves or conscious impostors, and that our laity are dupes or fools—I could, if time would allow, easily bring extracts from Protestant writers in support of each of these positions. Not only so, but—by isolated texts of Scripture ; by scraps of the Fathers, torn from their context, and often mistranslated ; by misrepresentation of history ; by fragments of prayers and hymns, interpreted as no Catholic would interpret them ; by erroneous explanations of what they see in our churches ; by baseless inferences arising from ignorance of the very language we use—they formulate and are not ashamed to propagate charges against us which in many cases we cannot condemn seriously, because it is impossible to help laughing at them. Our contradictions are not listened to ; our corrections are unheeded ; our statements are disbelieved. “ Give us,” we say, “ at least fair play ; hear what we have to say for ourselves ; do not condemn us unheard ; do not assume that we are all fools and rogues.” But we are not listened to : we are not allowed to know what we ourselves believe ! “ Oh for the rarity of Christian charity,” or at any rate of Protestant charity. We are sometimes accused of omitting one of the commandments : but it is the bigoted Protestant who does this—he entirely forgets that there

is in the Decalogue one which says sternly—"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." How many Protestants who speak against the Church have ever expended a penny on the Catechism which contains a full, clear statement of Christian Doctrine, which is approved by authority, and on which the religious education of our children is based? Yet they would learn more from it of what we really believe than from every tract in Mr. Kensit's shop, or from all the books which Mr. Collette ever wrote.

It often puzzles me how it is that Protestants do not realize the utter futility of the attempts they have been making for the last fifty years to arrest the tide of Catholic tendency which is flooding the nation. Go into St. Paul's—say on the festival of the Gregorian Association—see the long procession of surpliced choirs with their banners, many of them bearing Catholic devices: listen to the old antiphons, unauthorized indeed by the Book of Common Prayer, set to the chants to which they are sung in the Church throughout the world wherever the Divine Office is chanted; see the preacher mount the pulpit prefacing his sermon with the invocation of the Blessed Trinity and the sign of the Cross; hear him refer as one referred two years since, to "Our Lady"—a title only less dear to Catholics than that of Our Lord: and as you sit and listen, look to the end of the church, with its dignified and decorated altar and the gorgeous reredos, not unworthy of a Catholic church, with the great crucifix in its centre and over all the statue of Mary with her Divine Child in her arms; and as you leave the church, do not forget to notice the side chapel and its handsome altar, with cross, and flowers and lights, where the daily communion service is held. Then remember that less than forty years since, not one of those ornaments or signs could be seen in the desolate, dirty edifice, with its shabby communion table well-nigh out of sight under the east window. Go to Westminster, and see, prominent at the restored north door, another statue of Mary with her Child. Go up and down the country, both to your large towns and to your remote villages, and you will find the same advance—only more developed. Last year I strolled into the mag-

nificent old abbey church of a little Oxfordshire village : the air was dim and heavy with incense, there were three altars, each duly furnished with lights, cross and sacring-bell ; on the notice board was a copy of the parish magazine, in which I read an exhortation on the duty of hearing Mass on Sundays which might have been taken—and perhaps was taken—from a Catholic manual of instruction : and a list of the services to be held on the feast of Corpus Christi ! The crucifix is now common in Protestant churches ; pictures of Our Lady are not rare ; statues of her are to be found—why do not our Protestant friends look to this, instead of raising their voices against Catholicism ? They shriek and rant after their manner ; yet one stronghold after another is captured, and they stand by and are powerless to hinder it.

Look at the wealth of literature of every kind, which pours forth from the ritualistic press ; the manuals and treatises, the dogmatic works, the numberless little books, each more advanced than the last, with which the country is literally flooded, and of which the St. Agatha's Sunday Scholars' Book, which lately received a notice from the Protestant Alliance, is but one out of a thousand. Look even at the levelling up which has marked the publications of so eminently respectable a body as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. How is it that, with all your power and influence and money, you cannot arrest this advance in the direction of Rome ?

And what about Rome itself ? There are those who think that England is rapidly becoming Catholic. I am not of that number, but I cannot fail to see that the fields are white unto harvest, and I see too that the labourers are being sent forth into the harvest.

More than fifty years ago, Macaulay pointed out, in that wonderful essay on Ranke's History of the Popes which I would commend to all Protestants who do not know it, as a "most remarkable fact, that no Christian nation which did not adopt the principles of the Reformation before the end of the 16th century, should ever have adopted them. Catholic communities have since that time become infidel and become Catholic again : but none has become Protestant." How is it at home ?

Protestants have poured money into Ireland: they did not scruple to avail themselves, to their everlasting disgrace, of the sufferings of the great famine in order to buy over with their funds the souls and bodies of the destitute Irish. "God has opened a great door to us in Ireland"—such was the blasphemous announcement which prefaced one of the appeals for those liberal funds without which no Protestant missionary enterprise, at home or abroad, can be carried on. What is the result? Is Ireland less Catholic than she was? Come closer—come to England—here are facts which Protestants will not dispute, for they will come to you with the authority of the Protestant Alliance, from one of whose publications I quote them. Since 1851, the number of priests in England has more than trebled itself; of churches, chapels, and stations we have now 1,387, where in 1851 we had 586; of religious houses of men we have 220 against 17, forty years ago; of convents—those favourite objects of attack to a certain class of Protestants, those places whose inmates, to judge from the rubbish one hears and reads, have only one aim, to escape—we have just nine times as many as we had in 1851: the numbers are 450 and 53. Come nearer home: in 1851 the diocese of Southwark included what is now the diocese of Portsmouth; there were then in it 67 priests: there are now, in the two dioceses 428—an increase of 363; there were 57 churches and stations, where there are now exactly 200; there are 80 convents instead of 9: there are 38 monasteries instead of one! Come to these very doors; when I came to live in Southwark, eight years ago, there was for this vast district one church—the Cathedral—with four priests; now the staff at the Cathedral is more than doubled, and Walworth, the Borough and Vauxhall are separated into distinct missions, each with two priests. Add to this such churches as St. Alphege and St. Agnes, where the doctrines taught, and the ornaments used are almost identical with our own; All Saints' (Lambeth), St. John the Divine, Christ Church (Clapham), and many more, where sacramental teaching of an advanced type is given: and then calculate for yourselves what effect in this neighbourhood the puny and impotent attacks of the Protestant Alliance are likely to produce:

a society whose patron should surely be the good old lady who thought to sweep back the sea with a mop : whose members spend their money on red rags, and waste their time by shaking them in the face of a bull—I mean John Bull, who doesn't care twopence about them. My Protestant friends, there was one of old who gave sound advice to those who took counsel to slay Peter and they that were with him : “ Refrain from these men, and let them alone ; for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to naught ; but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it ; lest haply ye be found to fight against God.” Remember that “ in spite of dungeon, fire and sword,”—in spite of the penal laws, which the Lord Chief Justice has lately styled “ a code as hateful as anything ever seen since the foundation of the world ”—the faith is among you still ; the gates of hell have not prevailed against it.

And—speaking quite soberly and dispassionately—I do not hesitate to say that some of the weapons which are employed against the Church seem to me to come from within those gates. I respect the conscientious, God-fearing Protestants who, under the influence of strong delusion, feel it their duty to oppose the Church. I remember the case of Saul, afterwards called Paul, and how he persecuted the Church of God ; and I do not despair of their conversion. I have only sympathy for those who are misled by prejudice and bigoted teachers. Every convert can say, with the man in the Gospel, “ Whereas I was blind now I see ” ; and I am not sure that those who have had the happiness of being born Catholics always make sufficient allowance for the imperfect vision of those without the fold. But what shall be said in defence of those who are not ashamed to write and to publish calumnies, as foul as they are false, against priests and nuns, and the Sacraments of the Church—those “ lewd fellows of the baser sort ” who under the guise of religion, do not scruple to pander to the lowest and worst of passions by the circulation of filthy fictions of which “ *Maria Monk* ” is by no means the worst—of works which, so far as I know, are to be found in only two places in London—in the shop of a Protestant publisher, and in a street which has for

years obtained an evil notoriety for the sale of indecent literature. I am not going to name these books : but if any one is anxious, for any good purpose, to know to what I refer, I am ready to tell him. Some years since, one of the worst of these was seized and condemned as an indecent publication ; since then, the Protestant purveyors* of pornographic publications have been more careful to keep within the letter of the law, although it is not long since the editor of *Truth*—by no means a scrupulous purist—denounced some of their wares as outraging decency. These and the highly spiced lectures “ to men ” or “ to women *only* ”—appeal to a certain class of persons ; and I call upon all decent men and women, be they Jew, Turk, heretic, or infidel—and above all, upon Mr. Collette, who was at one time intimately connected with a body called the Society for the Suppression of Vice—to dissociate themselves from any part in the wholesale propagation of indecency which is carried on in the name of religion. The cause must indeed be a bad and a hopeless one which can stoop to avail itself of weapons such as these.

But I will not refer further to a hateful kind of warfare with which very few will sympathize. I will rather briefly apply to two among the many schools of thought in the Establishment the remarks which I have made.

To the Protestant or Low Churchman I would say : Can you conscientiously remain in a Church the members of which claim to hold all Roman doctrine, save that of submission to the Pope—which permits the teaching not only of Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence, but of Confession, the Monastic or Religious Life, the use of Images, Fasting, Prayers and Masses for the Dead, the Invocation of Saints, Prayers to the Blessed Virgin, the power of dispensing from religious obligations ; which not only allows these things to be taught, but permits them to be emphasized by every external adjunct ? To the High Churchman my question is exactly the converse of this. You believe all or most of the points which I have just enumerated : can you remain in communion with those

* See *Truth*, Dec. 28, 1893, for further remarks on one of these persons.

who deny them ? Read, if you have not read it, a pamphlet on the Reformation by one of your own Bishops—Dr. Ryle—one of those whom you regard as successors of the Apostles, with the power of ordaining priests. He tells you how the reformers “stripped the office of the clergy of any sacerdotal character”—how they removed the words “sacrifice” and “altar” from the Prayer-book, and retained the word priest only in the sense of presbyter or elder—how they denied the power of the keys—how they cast out the Sacrifice of the Mass as a blasphemous fable, took down the altars, prohibited images and crucifixes, and “declared that the sovereign had supreme authority and chief power in this realm in all causes ecclesiastical.” What is gained by the wearing of cope and mitre and the teaching of sacramental doctrine by one bishop, if another can at the same time, with equal authority, denounce all these things ? and how can a Church with any claim to be considered as teaching with authority tolerate with equanimity both of these extremes ?

We Catholics are so accustomed to the unity of the Church that we do not perhaps always think what a wonderful thing it is : and Protestants, I find, often do not realize it. They sometimes point to our religious orders as if they were equivalent to their own manifold divisions ! It is, I believe, the literal truth that, as the sun shines day by day on each part of the world, he sees at each moment the blessed Sacrifice of the Altar uplifted to the Eternal Father. Where, save in the Catholic Church, shall we find such a fulfilment of the prophecy “From the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same shall incense be offered to My Name and a pure offering” ? Not only so, but throughout the world—from “Greenland’s icy mountains” to “India’s coral strand”—wherever two or three are gathered together in the One Name is the same belief, the same sacrifice, mainly the same ritual : so that the Irish exile leaving the Old World for the New, where Catholicism is increasing with rapid strides, is as much at home in the churches of New York as he was in his roadside country chapel in the old country. Can any Catholic for a moment conceive the possibility of finding any one doctrine preached

at St. George's, contradicted by the priest at Walworth, controverted in the sermon in the Catholic chapel at Vauxhall, and called in question by Canon Murnane in the Borough? Can he imagine Cardinal Vaughan's teaching on the Mass contradicted by our own beloved Bishop? But will any Protestant tell me that—to take the two Anglican churches nearest to us—the teaching at St. Paul's is identical with that at St. Alphge's? Could Mr. Allwork's congregation next Sunday avail themselves of Mr. Goulden's ministrations, or join in the hymns and prayers addressed to the Blessed Sacrament and the Mother of God?

The Catholic can go all over the world, and wherever he goes he will find the same Faith and the same Sacrifice. The Protestant cannot go at random into two churches in the same neighbourhood with any certainty that the teaching or ceremonial will be similar, and that with regard to the most vital points of faith, "How can two walk together except they be agreed?" Remember that, as the cowl does not make the monk, so the most elaborate ritual and the most advanced teaching cannot make a Catholic. A few weeks ago I strolled into a handsome church in this neighbourhood, just as a lady dressed like a nun was taking the school-children to service. There was the raised altar, with its flowers and lights and crucifix and what looked very like a tabernacle, and before the altar burned seven lamps. "Is this a Catholic Church?" I said to the verger. "No, sir, Church of England," was the reply. My friends, disguise it as you will, the truth will out: your Catholic church is only the Church of England after all.

One point more. When I was thinking of becoming a Catholic, I pointed out to a friend these differences existing in the Church of England. Both, I said, cannot be true, but neither the Church herself, nor the State which supports her, is able to say with authority which is right. My friend told me—what I believe people still say—that High and Low Church were united in essentials. Surely the most ignorant and superstitious Papists ever invented by a Protestant lecturer would recoil before such an absurdity as this statement involves! Surely it is "essential" to know

whether Baptism is a mere symbol or a regenerating sacrament ; it cannot be a matter of indifference whether the sons of men have or have not the power on earth to forgive sins ; it cannot be a matter of opinion whether the Sacrifice of the Mass is a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit, or the renewal of the great Sacrifice offered on Calvary ? There must be an authority to pronounce upon these points, and the Church of England neither has nor claims to be such authority. From the time of the Gorham Judgement, which left Baptism an open question, down to the Archbishop of Canterbury's decision the other day, uncertainty, vagueness, and indecision have marked every attempt to formulate any definite opinion. This last attempt has indeed justified ritualism on the ground that it means nothing in particular, and above all, nothing Roman. No wonder the *Times* spoke of a "sense of unreality" in "the effort to treat, as neutral or colourless, acts which we all know to be, in the view of a party in the Church, technical symbols and unequivocal doctrinal signs." It is true that, with marvellous effrontery, a popular Anglican hymn asserts—

"We are not divided,
All one body we ;
One in hope and doctrine,
One in charity." *

But does an Anglican believe it to be true ? "Not divided !" Is there any one who will assert that the "doctrine" preached in the first half-dozen Anglican churches he comes across will be "one" ?—or that the teaching of what is termed, with unconscious irony, the "religious press," has any claims to be considered identical ? If the "doctrine" is one, why do we find in the same Church two such organizations as the English Church Union and the Church Association, each diametrically opposed to the other, and the latter continually prosecuting the clergy who represent the views of the

* [It would appear that even Anglicans themselves have been struck by the absurdity of this statement, for in the new edition of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* the verse begins :

"Though divisions harass,
All one body we."]

former? Is there anywhere such a spectacle of division as this—a division which, as soon as the bonds of State Establishment shall have been broken asunder, cannot fail to be even more manifest than it is at present.

“Not divided”! It must be nearly thirty years ago, I think, that St. Paul’s, Lorrimore Square, was in the forefront of Anglicanism. There was a change of vicar, and the congregation so little realized that they were “one in doctrine” with their new clergyman, that a great part of them seceded, and formed the nucleus of what is now the large body of worshippers attending St. Agnes’, Kennington. But why, if they were “not divided,” if they were “one in doctrine,” did they not stay where they were?

“Not divided!” Is not division the very essence of Protestantism? and are not the divisions in the Establishment sufficient proof that it is Protestant? “We have within the Church of England,” said the *Times* on one occasion, “persons differing not only in their particular tenets, but in the rule and ground of their belief.”

Put it another way. Take the case of a Nonconformist who desires to become a member of the Church of England: suppose him to be some one in this neighbourhood: is he to be taken to St. Paul’s or to St. Alphege’s? Who is to decide? Surely it is not a matter of indifference. Mr. Ruskin has said that “The Protestant who most imagines himself independent in his thought, and private in his study of scripture, is nevertheless usually at the mercy of the nearest preacher who has a pleasant voice and ingenious fancy.”* And surely the Faith which is put forward as that of the Church of England, depends entirely on the belief of the individual parson referred to. How different is the case with the Catholic Church!

I have said that the Church of England neither has nor claims authority; and my last words shall be devoted to making this plain. If she has authority, as our High Church friends assert, whence does she derive it? Not from the old Church of England, for by the Reformation of Elizabeth, the old Catholic episcopate was swept away.

* *Our Fathers Have Told Us*, III, 125.

Of the sixteen surviving Catholic Bishops, all save one—Kitchin of Llandaff, who took no part in the Reformation, nor in the consecration of Parker—were imprisoned, and Parker and those consecrated by him were intruded into the sees of the imprisoned Bishops. But granting that Parker and the rest were validly consecrated, whence did they get jurisdiction? Certainly not from the old Catholic Bishops; most certainly not from the source whence these obtained it, namely the Pope; not by the fact of consecration, for orders and jurisdiction are distinct, and received independently of each other; not from any of Parker's consecrators—Barlow, Scory, Coverdale, and Hodgkins—for not one of these was in possession of a see, and they could not give what they themselves did not possess. The only answer possible, however unpalatable it may be to High Churchmen, is that they got jurisdiction from the Crown, or not at all.

Every Protestant Bishop now takes the oath of supremacy, by which he professes that the Sovereign is the "only supreme governor" of the realm "in spiritual and ecclesiastical things, as well as in temporal." Whence the Sovereign obtained this supremacy, or what "warranty of Scripture" can be adduced for it, I do not know; nor do I think it easy to ascertain.

Moreover, the Establishment not only does not possess authority, but she expressly disclaims it. The First General Council of the Church prefaced its teaching with—"It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us": and the Catholic Church, right down to the present day, has spoken with like authority. But what does the Church of England say? Her anxiety not to be regarded as having any authority is almost pathetic: "All Churches have erred," says she, "in matters of faith," and it is implied that she may fail also. "The Church has power, indeed, to decree rites and ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith, but it cannot decree anything unless it is taken out of Holy Scripture. General Councils are not only dependent on the will of princes, but, when assembled, may err and have erred, nor may the Church declare anything of faith which is not read in Holy Scripture." These things she tells us in her Articles

of Religion. But, to go a step further, who gave Holy Scripture its authority? It claims none for itself as a whole; it nowhere tells us of what books it is composed; Christians are nowhere told to read it: no text bids us keep Sunday holy, or authorizes infant baptism, or the taking of oaths. Who vouches for the authority of the Bible, I repeat? who but that Church which from the earliest times has been its guardian and its only rightful interpreter.

It is true that to claim authority is one thing and to possess it is another. If saying we had a thing were equivalent to having it, we should find nowadays authorized teachers in abundance. But it is difficult to believe that a body deriving its teaching power from God would take so much trouble to deny the possession of it. The Catholic Church does not act thus.

And when the spiritual head of the Establishment is consulted, he shows himself her true son. Some years ago, Mr. Maskell, who afterwards became a Catholic, asked the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Sumner, whether he might or might not teach certain doctrines of faith? "To which," the Archbishop said, "I reply: are they contained in the word of God? Whether they are so contained, and can be proved thereby you have the same means of discovering as myself, and I have no special authority to declare."

Here is the judgement passed upon the Church of England by the learned Dr. Döllinger, a man who has some claim to respect from Protestants, seeing that he had the misfortune to die outside the unity of the Catholic Church. "There is no Church that is so completely and thoroughly as the Anglican, the product and expression of the wants and wishes, the modes of thought and cast of character, not of a certain nationality, but of a fragment of a nation, namely the rich, fashionable, and cultivated classes. It is the religion of deportment, of gentility, of clerical reserve. Religion and the Church are then required to be, above all things, not troublesome, not intrusive, not presuming, not importunate." "It is a good Church to live in," some one said, "but a bad one to die in."

The absence of authority and of definite teaching—these were the reasons which induced me to leave the

Church of England. The step once taken, all was clear ; and on every side I found abundant evidence that, if there be a Church of God upon earth, the Holy Catholic and Roman Church can alone claim that title. That evidence I cannot bring before you now—I have already detained you too long. My Catholic hearers do not need it, and my Protestant friends will do well to seek it from those better qualified than myself, qualified to speak with an authority which cannot attach to any sayings of mine. To both Catholics and Protestants I would recommend the perusal of the *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England*, which were delivered by John Henry Newman, “the noblest Roman of them all” not long after he left the Establishment, thus, as Lord Beaconsfield said upon one occasion, “dealing the Church of England a blow from which she still reels.” In those lectures you will find almost every popular objection against the Church met with a charm of literary style, and with a courteousness of expression which, so far as I know, has never been equalled ; and even those who remain unconvinced of the truth of the Church will be constrained to admit that there is at least another aspect of things which seemed to them to admit of only one, and that a bad one. It has been well said that the truths of the Church are like stained glass windows in a building : look at them from without, all is confusion ; but go inside, let the lights of heaven stream through them, and each fragment takes its place in the glorious and beautiful picture which is presented to your delighted gaze. So, from without, the doctrines of the Church seem dark and confused ; but the light of heaven pours through them to those within.

WHAT THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IS AND WHAT SHE TEACHES

BY ERNEST R. HULL, S.J.

INTRODUCTION

To give clear ideas of Catholic doctrine rather than proofs—such is the aim of this little work ; for unless the doctrine itself be presented in a reasonable light, the most convincing proofs will be thrown away. Again, clear ideas can often be expressed in a few words, whereas the real strength of a proof may be lost by expression. Moreover, the real difficulties felt against the Church are not generally due to want of proof, so much as to want of correct information as to what the Church is and what she teaches.

This pamphlet has therefore been written with a view of enabling non-Catholic inquirers to obtain concise and correct information about our Catholic position and teaching. Those interested in its contents will have no difficulty in obtaining references to larger works by which to carry on their inquiries.

I. THE BIBLE OR THE CHURCH ?

How Protestants regard the Bible

Protestants generally take it as a principle that the Bible is the sole and adequate Rule of Faith. This is only natural, since, after rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church, there is no other rule to be found. Yet the results of this view are calculated to raise serious doubts of its correctness. In the New Testament even the most essential points of

doctrine are touched on so incidentally, and require such careful study and balancing of different texts that it is an extremely delicate matter to arrive at a definite conclusion. Most Protestants believe that the Divinity of Christ is clearly taught in the Bible ; yet the Socinians have argued with apparent sincerity, that the New Testament presents Christ merely as an inspired man. Protestants also forget how much of their firm conviction is due to early education, and to a traditional interpretation of the Bible, rather than to any critical investigation of their own. And, if this be the case with regard to fundamental doctrines, much more is it so with those points which are hinted at rather than expressed in the sacred text, and upon which the sects cannot come to any agreement

In such a state of uncertainty, the only resource left to the inquirer is to suppose that Christ meant us to believe only what is clearly taught in the Bible, and left us free to form our own opinions as to the rest. But yet, on each of these disputed points, Christ must have taught either one thing or the other ; and whatever He taught He must have intended us to believe. Hence it seems strange that He should have left us without the means of ascertaining which of the two doctrines we ought to believe. As the case stands, an earnest man can only throw in his lot with the sect whose views of Bible teaching approach nearest to his own, without the least guarantee that in doing so he has embraced Christ's real teaching, and not the exact contrary.

Again, the New Testament does not bear the marks of having been drawn up to serve as a code of Christian belief. Neither does it anywhere direct us to take scripture as our sole Rule of Faith, or free us from the obligation of believing more than is clearly taught in its pages. Therefore, to assume that the Bible is the sole and adequate rule of Christian Faith may perhaps be the only alternative left after rejecting the authority of the Catholic Church ; but neither Scripture nor history seems to afford any warrant for such an assumption.

How Catholics regard the Bible

Catholics, on the other hand, cherish the highest esteem and veneration for the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and regard it as a treasure of unique value ; first, because of the vivid picture of Christ's life and character which it pre-

sents ; secondly, because of the rich spiritual suggestiveness of its writings ; thirdly, as a precious storehouse of dogmatic and moral instruction ; fourthly, as a historic witness to the claims of the Catholic Church. Still, they consider that the Bible was never intended for the sole and adequate Rule of Faith ; partly because it is not a sufficiently exhaustive account of all Christ's teaching, partly because its expressions of doctrine are often ambiguous, and require authoritative interpretation. At the same time they believe that the New Testament itself points to another means provided by Christ for the preservation of His full teaching through all ages, and that means is the authority of the Catholic Church. The facts alleged to show this will be frankly admitted by Protestants themselves, even if they hesitate to agree with the conclusions drawn from them.

Christ founded an Apostolic Teaching Body

We find that Jesus Christ, without saying a single recorded word about a written creed or code, appointed twelve Apostles to carry on the work He had begun. Invoking the power which had been given Him in heaven and on earth, He bade them go and teach all nations, baptizing those who should believe, and teaching them to observe whatsoever He had commanded. The Apostles were sent, not as mere messengers, but as ambassadors bearing Christ's authority and power, and teaching and ministering in His name and person ; so that in hearing them men were hearing Him, and in despising them they were despising Him (Matt. xxviii. 18-20 ; Mark xvi. 15 ; Luke x. 16). Besides the office of teaching and baptizing, they were entrusted with the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and received a special power by the Holy Ghost to remit and retain sins (Luke xxii. 19 ; John xx. 21). In order that they might infallibly carry out this commission, Christ promised them the Spirit of Truth, which should lead them into all truth and bring to their minds whatever He had said to them (John xiv. 17-26, xvi. 13). Finally, He promised to be with them in person, not for a few years or a generation, but for the indeterminate future ; thereby seeming to imply that the apostolic order should last beyond the lives of its present members, even to the end of time (Matt. xxviii. 20).

In thus constituting the apostolic body, Christ was in reality constituting His Church. The Church was no mere collection of individual believers, but a definite organization, which was

to be the pillar and ground of truth (1 Tim. iii. 15). It was to be founded on a rock, and the gates of hell should not prevail against it (Matt. xvi. 18). The Church, taken as a whole, comprised the teaching body and a body of lay believers; but its essential constitution lay in the existence of that teaching body, authorized and guaranteed by Christ. Such was the original constitution of the Church; and as the Church was to last for all ages, it is natural to suppose that it should always continue to exist according to its original constitution—that is to say, as an apostolic teaching body. The burden of proof lies on those who deny so obvious an inference. There are no signs that this organization was a temporary expedient, to die out after a few years and leave a totally different system in its place.

How the Apostles regarded the New Testament

Following the career of the Apostles as they carry out their work, we find these conclusions confirmed. There occurs no mention of any scheme for producing a written code to dispense with the authority of apostolic preaching. The Apostles show no signs of regarding it as a duty to leave behind them a full written legacy of their teaching. They write to meet incidental occasions and local needs. The Evangelists seem to think it an important matter to leave us, in outline, their recollections of Christ's life and character, but they make no pretence of giving us a complete scheme of His dogmatic teaching. St. John himself declares the impossibility of writing anything like an exhaustive account of all that Christ did (John xxi. 25). There appears nowhere in the New Testament a consciousness that its writers were thereby supplying Christendom with the one sole and adequate Rule of Faith, which should supersede the need of appeal to their oral teachings. As far as we can gather, nearly all the Apostles were dead or dispersed before half the New Testament was written. According to the verdict of history, neither St. Peter nor St. Paul were alive when Mark and Luke wrote. There is no clear evidence to prove that any of the Apostles saw each other's writings, with one or two exceptions. None of them, except the author himself, ever saw the Gospel of St. John. Only St. John lived long enough to see the whole series which make up the New Testament; but there is no evidence to show what he actually did see. The only clear allusion made by one Apostle to another Apostle's writings

is that of St. Peter, who tells us how hard St. Paul's epistles were to understand, and how some had wrested them to their own destruction (2 Peter iii. 16).

On the other hand, we find many allusions to Christian doctrine as derived from oral teaching. The Thessalonians are told to "hold fast the traditions which they had been taught, whether by word or by epistle" (2 Thess. ii. 15). Timothy, who had been ordained Bishop of Ephesus by St. Paul (*cf.* note at end of Second Epistle, Authorized Version), is instructed to "hold fast the form of sound words which he had heard from his teacher among many witnesses"; "to continue in the things learnt" (*viz.*, "the gospel which was committed to his trust"), "knowing from whom he had learnt them," "and to commit the same to faithful men who shall be able to teach others" (1 Tim. i. 11; iv. 11-16; vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 6, 13; ii. 2; iii. 10, 14; iv. 2, *etc.*)—all of which certainly stand in favour of the Catholic idea of apostolic authority transmitted to a line of successors. and against the Protestant idea of substituting the Bible as the sole and adequate Rule of Faith.

The Early Church carries on the Apostolic System of Teaching

Still following the course of history, the Catholic view receives yet further confirmation. The various parts which now make up the New Testament were carefully treasured and read in the local churches where they had been received, and it was only by degrees that copies were spread to other places, and the whole series came to be circulated throughout Christendom. Though held in the highest authority, we find no signs of the Scriptures being substituted for traditional teaching as a sole Rule of Faith. The bishops were regarded as the authoritative successors of the Apostles, responsible for the preservation of Christian doctrine, and the people looked to them for the true interpretation of Scripture. Belief did not follow interpretation of Scripture, but interpretation of Scripture followed belief. When heretics cited Scripture in support of novel views, the Fathers denied them the right to do so, reserving the interpretation of Scripture to the Church. On the other hand, the Church quoted Scripture against the heretics, not as the sole basis of its teaching but as an inspired witness to its correctness. Moreover, it is remarkable how clear the Church was in its traditional teaching even before the evidence of Scripture had been fully discussed—

I refer to such questions as the nature and person of Christ. What the heretics regarded as indisputable on Scripture grounds, the Church regarded as indisputable on grounds of tradition. In short, the general impression given by the history of the third and fourth centuries shows us still in operation the idea of an apostolic teaching body, authorized and guaranteed by Jesus Christ, to provide the rule of faith ; while Scripture is still regarded as a witness to the correctness of the Church's teaching, but not as a sole and adequate rule of faith to be put in its place.

How the Contents of the New Testament were determined

Moreover, during the first four centuries of the Church, it remained an unsettled question what belonged to the sacred Scripture and what did not. There were many Gospels current besides the four we now acknowledge, and a few other works, like the Epistles of Clement and Barnabas and the Pastor of Hermas. Of these, several were regarded by certain of the Fathers as parts of Scripture, and were publicly read in local churches ; on the other hand, the Epistle to the Hebrews, Revelation, James, Jude, 2nd Peter, 2nd and 3rd John, were called in question in some parts of the Church. It required much discussion to arrive at a final conclusion. But when in the Synods of Hippo and Carthage, about A.D. 393-397, a list of authentic books was agreed upon and Pope Innocent I, and afterwards Pope Gelasius (A.D. 494) confirmed this list, the discussion was closed ; and for the first time the New Testament was capable of being bound up into one book as we have it now.

But how was this question settled after so long a discussion ? Purely and simply by an appeal to the traditions existing in local churches where each document had been preserved, and by the authoritative verdict of the Church judging according to those traditions ; other historic evidence deciding the questions in all its details, we do not possess. So that Protestants, in accepting the New Testament as it stands, are implicitly reposing the highest confidence in the authority of the Catholic Church in the fifth century ; and some of them have candidly acknowledged this (*cf.* preface to Revised Version). These facts seem fatal to the idea that Scripture was intended by Christ and His Apostles to be the sole and adequate Rule of Faith ; since our very assurance as to what the New Testament contains rests historically on the teaching

authority of the bishops of the fifth century, the successors of the Apostles commissioned and guaranteed by Christ.

The Apostolic Teaching Body continues to the Present Day

Passing on through the ages, we find the same system at work. Down to the sixteenth century there existed in Christendom no other than this idea. The Bishops were looked upon as successors of the Apostles, and their unanimous teaching was regarded as absolutely trustworthy—as truly representing the doctrine of Christ. The Church as a whole could not possibly fall into error—this was guaranteed by the promises of Christ ; and those who claimed Scripture in support of their new doctrines, and against the prevailing doctrine of the Church, were regarded as heretics and rebels against Christ, and against His authority delegated to the Church.

It was not till the sixteenth century that this state of things received a rude shock. The radical principle of the Protestant Reformation lay in the rejection of the living authority of the Catholic Church, and the substitution of the Bible, interpreted by each individual, in its place. Reviewing the consequences of this experiment and the absence of all warrant for it in Scripture itself, and considering that it runs counter to the unanimous conviction of Christendom for fifteen hundred years, it will only be prudent for Protestants to reconsider their position ; and to ask themselves whether, after all, the conviction of Christendom for fifteen hundred years may not be right. If at length they come to this conclusion their plain course will be submission to the authority of the Catholic Church.

II. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

What Submission to Authority means

The idea of authority in matters of religion has been much cried down in modern times, as if it were injurious to liberty or conscience : it will be well to remove this prejudice before going further. Submission to the authority of another, in matters of thought, may be justly objected to, especially when half the advantage lies in the intellectual exercise of thinking such matters out for oneself. But when it is a case of ascertaining facts which some one else knows, and which we cannot find out for ourselves, then we must, whether we like

it or not, take them on the authority of another, if we wish to acquire them at all. The only important condition is to make sure that our authority is reliable. No one believing in the trustworthiness of Jesus Christ would refuse submission to His authority in matters of revelation: for everything He teaches must be true, no matter what our previous ideas on the subject may have been; and submission to His authority means acquisition of the truth. The same holds good as regards the Apostles, when once we have ascertained that they are reliable witnesses to the teaching of Christ. Every Protestant who accepts the statements of the Bible as correct, submits to the authority of those who wrote the books of the Bible. Finally, when once convinced that the living voice of the Catholic Church is authorized and guaranteed by Christ, the only rational course is to accept that authority as a means of ascertaining Christ's teaching; and instead of resenting it, we ought to be thankful for the gift.

Some further apprehension may, however, be felt about the Church extending her authority beyond the limits of revealed dogma, and fettering the mind in fields where Christ has left it free. This is not really the case. The Church naturally expects the prevailing Catholic lines of thought and feeling, outside the strict limits of faith, to be treated with respect, especially in public writing and speaking; and her general policy is to be cautious and slow in taking up novel views, such as tend to shock and alarm the simple-minded, until such views have been firmly established by evidence. But as for freedom of private thought and opinion and taste, in all matters outside the strict limits of faith, Catholics (even though some of the more simple may not realize it) enjoy the fullest liberty. The great richness of Catholic theological speculation, compared with that of Protestants, is a proof which will appeal to those who have studied in both schools.

How to ascertain the Teaching of the Church

In communicating His teaching to mankind, Christ has made use of the most natural means at His command. Even the Apostles did not grasp their Master's full doctrine at once, or without thinking over what they had learnt and asking further questions. Thus, also, an inquirer coming to the Catholic Church would naturally begin by studying the Penny Catechism, which represents the doctrine taught in the schools and churches of the diocese in which he lives. His further

questions would be answered by reading or by instruction from a priest. Continued study will carry him deeper into each subject, but will not involve a departure from this simple Catechism. It is not essential that he should be a master of theology before entering the Church : a sound knowledge of the substantial doctrines is sufficient. The important thing is to be thoroughly imbued with the principle of belief in the authority of the Church, and to be ready to accept, in general, whatever the Church teaches as belonging to the deposit of faith.

So far in practice ; but, speaking more scientifically, it will be necessary to go further afield to explain the constitution of the teaching body of the Catholic Church. If we trace back to its source the authority of the Catechism and of the priest who explains it, we shall come ultimately to the bishop of the diocese, who is responsible for the teaching of the Faith within the limits of his own jurisdiction. The Catechism of one diocese is practically the same as that of every other ; and thus the Catechism represents substantially the unanimous teaching of the bishops all over the world. Catholic bishops are no mere "ornamental heads of churches," as Mr. Jacob Primmer called them, but the responsible guardians of the deposit of faith. They are the successors of the Apostles, endowed with their authority and power to teach and govern the Church. Taken singly, they do not inherit the personal endowments of the Apostles ; they have neither the gift of inspiration nor of miracles, nor of personal infallibility, nor of universal jurisdiction. They receive no new revelations, nor repetitions of old ones ; and yet they are infallible in the sense that they cannot collectively be guilty of false teaching, and so lead the whole Church astray. It is possible for individual bishops to desert their duty and fall into heresy, as some have done in times past ; but such are quickly cut off from the Church, and lose their position in the teaching body. For a bishop can retain his office only by remaining in communion with his fellow-bishops and with the Pope ; separated from this communion, he ceases to be a member of the teaching Church. It is in this collective body of bishops in communion with each other and with the Pope, that the teaching Church properly consists. Hence it is to this collective body that the promises of Christ apply. Consequently it is believed that any doctrine unanimously taught by this collective body, as part of the deposit of faith, must be infallibly correct ;

since otherwise the whole Church, clergy and laity (whose belief is simply a reflection of the teaching of the bishops), would be committed to a false doctrine, and so the gates of hell would have prevailed against the Church. It will be seen that everything works in the most natural manner possible ; and the only effect of Christ's promise is, that it guarantees the unanimous teaching and belief of the Church.

How does the Pope stand in relation to the Teaching Body?

The Pope, besides holding the position of bishop over the local Church of Rome, enjoys the twofold prerogative of supreme ruler and of supreme teacher of the whole Church. These prerogatives are believed to have been bestowed on St. Peter by Christ (Matt. xvi. 13-19 ; Luke xxii. 31-33 ; John xxi. 15-17) and to have been inherited by his successors in the see of Rome. As supreme ruler, the Pope has power to make disciplinary laws binding on the whole Church. As supreme teacher, he possesses authority to settle disputed points of faith and morals. It is with the last-named prerogative that we are now chiefly concerned. Under favourable circumstances, when the teaching of the bishops is unanimous and the belief of the people undisturbed, no ulterior guarantee is needed beyond this fact. But when a heresy arises, and the unanimity of the bishops is disputed ; or when the traditional doctrine has been imperfectly transmitted in some part of the Church, and a dispute arises on this or any other account ; an authoritative declaration may be needed to close the question in a manner which admits of no evasion. It is then that the decision of the supreme teacher is called for. Now Catholics believe that in these decisions and in these alone, the Pope is infallible. For it is of the nature of these decisions to bind the whole Church, and commit it irrevocably to teaching and to believing as part of Christ's revelation the doctrine proclaimed by them. Hence, unless the Pope were absolutely reliable in such decisions, the faith of the Church might be corrupted by an error, and so the gates of hell would have prevailed against it.

From this it will be clear what Papal Infallibility means. The Pope is not inspired ; he receives no private revelations ; he does not carry in his mind the whole of Christ's teaching as a miraculous treasure on which to draw at will. He has learnt the faith as we learnt it, from his Catechism and from his theology. If he wishes to know the two sides of a dispute

he must study it as we must. Even when preparing to make a definition in his office of supreme teacher, he can count on no new revelation or inspiration of a personal kind. But when he comes finally to the act of definition—when, acting in his highest official capacity of teacher of the Universal Church, he defines a point of faith or morals with the intent of binding the whole Church—then we believe, by virtue of Christ's promise, that the decision will be infallibly right.

A Mistake about Infallibility

Protestants find a great difficulty in believing that infallibility means no more than this—Dr. Salmon, for instance, thought that if the Pope is infallible at all he must be infallible in all his acts. This is simply refusing to accept the Catholic's account of his own belief. But it is a groundless objection. King George V. does not always act as king. No one would attribute royal authority to his views on hunting, or yachting, or on the drama. Even when he presides over a Court function he is not always using his royal prerogatives. No one would attach the full authority of the Crown to the remarks he makes to a deputation of Presbyterians, Jews, or Catholics. Even when speaking in Privy Council, or making his official speech at the opening of Parliament, he does not intend to throw the full weight of his authority into his utterances. It is only when signing an Act of Parliament or a treaty with some foreign nation, that the full and highest exercise of his royalty comes into play. Then, and then alone, does he act as ruler of the Empire, committing the Crown to the deed, and binding the whole nation. As it is with the King of England, so it is with the Pope. In his private acts as a Christian, in his official acts as a bishop, in his official acts in the government of the Church, he might make a mistake or fail in prudence, and no great harm would be done. But if he made an error in committing the whole Church to a point of faith or morals, the damage would be irreparable; the teaching of Christ's revelation would be adulterated, and the Church would cease to be the guaranteed delegate of Christ. Hence in these acts only is it necessary for the Pope to be infallible, according to Christ's promise that the gates of hell shall not prevail against the Church.

Does the Church add New Doctrines?

But this doctrine of the Pope's power is open to another objection; for it seems as if, by means of it, new doctrines

were periodically added to the Church's teaching. Certainly more doctrines are taught as of faith to-day than were taught as of faith a thousand years ago ; and therefore, presumably, more than were taught as of faith by the Apostles.

This question leads to the idea of development of doctrine. Catholics believe that the Church never develops into a doctrine of faith anything that was not originally a part of Christ's revelation. But a development can take place in clearness and definiteness of expression. St. Peter would have told us that our Lord was God and Man, but he would hardly have been able to express his doctrine in the terms of the Nicene or Athanasian Creed, because that kind of language was not in use in St. Peter's time. This is an example of development from a less scientific to a more scientific form of expression. Take another example. None of the Apostles except St. John lived long enough to see the whole of the New Testament written. Probably St. John informed the Church of his own time that certain writings, and no others, were inspired. But this knowledge was not so spread throughout the Church as to make it universally known. It took some centuries for this tradition to become unanimous and universal in Christendom. Then only could the Canon or list of the New Testament books become a recognized dogma of faith. This is an example of development from local knowledge to universal knowledge, by the complete spread of the original tradition to all parts of the Church.

Protestants have accepted the results of these two examples of development. But the same principle applies to other cases which Protestants do not usually admit. The Fathers were quite clear in teaching that the consecrated bread and wine were not common bread and wine, but became, by God's mysterious power, the real Body and Blood of Christ. When the scholastic divines invented the philosophical word " Transubstantiation " they merely brought about a development of expression, the doctrine remaining the same. Again, the Fathers were exceedingly strong in asserting Mary's absolute freedom from sin, or from any touch of the devil's power. Yet it was only by a gradual process that the term " Immaculate Conception " was invented ; an expression meaning substantially the same thing. Besides, the tradition of Mary's immaculate conception was current at Rome and in other places before it became clear in all parts of the Church. Hence arose theological disputes, which lasted till the belief had

come to be accepted almost universally by clergy and people ; and a final definition by Pius IX, in 1854, confirmed the doctrine as part of the traditional faith. Lastly, the Church is accused of inventing Papal Infallibility in 1870. Yet this doctrine is found clearly taught by the scholastic divines centuries back (cf. Suarez, for example), and an examination of history will show that it was clearly supposed by the Church from very early times. A section of the Gallican clergy resisted it for a time, but this opposition soon died down sufficiently to allow a practical unanimity to be arrived at, and the definition of 1870 closed the discussion once for all. All these are regarded as examples of legitimate development, in the sense of advance in clearness of expression or unanimity, but not an invention of new doctrines, beyond those revealed and traditionally handed down from the first.

This being the case, converts need entertain no fear of the Pope capriciously springing new and unheard of doctrines upon them for subsequent belief. There exists in history no case of a final definition made without accurate previous knowledge of the state of belief in the Church at large. And when we consider the numberless snares into which a Pope left without divine assistance might have fallen, by making definitions based on the imperfect state of knowledge in his own times at the risk of being proved wrong afterwards, we can say that history affords a strong support for our doctrine, that a special providence has watched over the Pope from the very beginning, and will not fail in the end.

How the Church regards the Use of the Bible

The deposit of faith preserved by the Catholic Church includes (1) Doctrines clearly taught in the New Testament ; (2) Doctrines obscurely taught in the Bible, and requiring the authority of the Church to decide their true interpretation ; (3) Doctrines not mentioned in the Bible at all—*e.g.*, the abrogation of the Jewish Sabbath, with the obligation of observing Sunday instead ; the practice of eating meat with blood, which was forbidden for a time by the Apostles (Acts xv. 20) ; the inspiration of each and every part of the New Testament. It is not that there is any antagonism between the Church and the Bible, as Protestants imagine, but that the two stand on a different footing. The Church derives its doctrine from the Apostles before the New Testament was written, and has followed the law of oral transmission

ever since. The fact that the New Testament was afterwards written does not interfere with this principle, but only provides us with an inspired and historic witness to the claims of the Church and, in many points, to the accuracy of her teaching, without, however, supplying a substitute for her authority.

It is, however, sometimes alleged that the Church confesses a fear of the Bible by discouraging its use. This charge is entirely untrue. The Church never did discourage the use of the Bible, but only its abuse. Probably St. Peter would have recommended those who misunderstood St. Paul's Epistles to leave such difficult writings alone until they could use them with better discretion. No book has ever been so badly abused as the Bible. There is no heresy which has not claimed Scripture in its own support against the doctrine of the Church. The Arians and Socinians both relied strongly on Holy Writ. When it became a fashion to use the Scripture in this way for the support of private views, the Bible, instead of being a help to faith, was converted into a source of confusion. Again, modern scholarship has proved the enormous textual difficulties which abound in the Scripture, and which require all the apparatus of science and Oriental languages to master. Simple Protestants think the Bible is easy to understand, because they can find some meaning or other in every verse. It is quite a different matter to find the true original meaning. The most extraordinary ideas can be drawn out of an English translation, which reference to the original Hebrew or Greek will show not to be in the text at all.

No wonder, then, if the Church considers the Bible anything but an easy book, which he who runs may read. The infinite capacity of the human mind to go wrong is sufficient reason for caution ; but in spite of this, Catholics have always been free to read the Bible, and encouraged to do so, provided they use the original text or an authorized translation. No one can accuse the Douay Version of being a garbled version, though it is not without the defects incidental to all translations. Nor does the obligation of accepting the Church's interpretation, in those few dogmatic texts about which she has declared her mind, hamper or stultify the mind. For nowhere does such an interpretation do violence to the text, and in each case it will be found reasonable and likely, to say the least ; and given that the Church is what Catholics believe she is, it is a distinct advantage to have an authoritative decision, where otherwise all would be left to uncertain speculation. But

these decisions are comparatively few and far between ; and the freedom of discussion which exists in our theological and scriptural schools would surprise Protestants if they came to realize it.

III. THE TEACHING OF THE CHURCH

Particular Doctrines an Obstacle to entering the Church

One who believes in the authority of the Church will naturally argue that *therefore* whatever the Church teaches *must* be true. But Protestants sometimes reverse the argument by saying that the doctrines taught by the Church are superstitious, or corrupt, or anti-scriptural ; and therefore the Catholic Church *cannot* be the true Church of Christ, no matter what arguments may be brought in its favour ; and so they cannot accept its authority. Hence, after expounding the Catholic view of the Church, it is necessary to show that these doctrines of the Church which run counter to Protestant ideas are not what Protestants imagine them to be, and that when rightly understood they ought to afford no obstacle to accepting the authority of the Church, as explained in the previous section.

Christ our Sole Mediator and Source of Merit

The Church strenuously maintains that Christ is our sole Redeemer, Mediator of reconciliation, and source of merit. Without the free gift of grace we can do nothing towards salvation, nor can we purchase the least title to grace by any exertion of our own. Our good works derive all their value from the grace which moves us to perform them, and any merit they possess or heavenly reward they secure springs entirely from the merits of Christ. The only way in which merit can be called our own lies in this, that by our free co-operation with grace we have fulfilled the conditions attached to Christ's promise of eternal life, and thus deserve to receive the fulfilment of that promise which God has freely vouchsafed to make. In this way St. Paul speaks of the crown of righteousness laid up for him by the just Judge, because he had finished his course and kept the faith.

Predestination and Reprobation

But although grace is a free gift, the Church repudiates the idea that God acts so unequally in its distribution as to pre-

destine some souls to salvation and others to damnation. God wills all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth. He wills also that no man shall perish. Hence Christ was given as a redemption for all (1 Tim. ii. 4 ; Rom. viii. 32 ; 2 Pet. iii. 9). Consequently God will never allow any man to fall into hell for want of grace, but only through his own fault in refusing to make use of it. The lowest degree of grace ever offered to any man is amply sufficient for his salvation, and this grace is offered to all.

What is Justification ?

Justification consists in the infusion of grace into the soul, by which we are put into a new relation with God—raised from the state of original sin to the state of grace, from the position of servants unto that of adopted sons, brethren of Christ and children of God. God is no longer merely our Creator and Lord ; He becomes our Father and our Friend. We are made heirs of God and co-heirs with Christ, and our inheritance is the enjoyment of God face to face for all eternity.

Baptism the means of Justification

The divinely appointed means of justification is regeneration by water and the Holy Ghost in Baptism. Since justification is a free gift not depending on the act of any creature for its bestowal, even infants can and ought to be baptized. Being baptized, these children are put into the state of justification, and would enter heaven if they died in infancy. On coming to the age of reason the Church denies the need of any further justification, and only requires them to cherish and preserve the grace already possessed by avoiding grievous sin.

A grown-up person approaching baptism must do so with faith, sorrow for sin, and a desire to receive the grace of the sacrament. These dispositions of soul do not give any right to grace, but are the requisite conditions for the worthy reception of the sacrament. It is possible for those who cannot be baptized to receive the grace of justification without it, but only supposing they would be willing to receive baptism if they could do so ; and the obligation remains of receiving it when it becomes possible.*

* In the case of invincible ignorance of this divine institution, submission of the will to God's known laws is understood to imply the requisite desire when baptism cannot be received. The same applies to the sacrament of penance.

“ Apprehending Christ by Faith ”

It will be seen that Catholic teaching about justification differs from the view common among Protestants that justification consists of a subjective “apprehending of Christ by faith,” and a conscious sense of being justified. According to the Church, justification is quite an objective thing—viz., the infusion of grace; and the best means we have of knowing whether this has taken place is the external act of baptism, to which the grace has been attached by Christ. The Church allows that justification *may* be attended by a sense of confidence; but such sentiments are not an infallible sign of justification, just as their absence does not prove the absence of justification.

“ Once Justified, always Justified ”

Again, the Church does not admit the maxim sometimes used by Protestants, that “once justified means always justified.” The state of justification may be forfeited at any time by the commission of a grave sin. Moreover, the state of justification thus lost can, through God’s mercy, be recovered by sincere repentance, and by the sacrament of penance. During this life no man is in an absolutely assured position of being guaranteed for eternal happiness, since he always retains his power of freely co-operating with grace or rejecting it, of sinning or abstaining from sin. Therefore, we must all work out our salvation with fear and trembling—not fear lest God should fail us, but fear lest by our negligence we should abandon Christ and fall away into sin.

Final Perseverance

Hence it is possible for a soul once justified to end by falling into hell. The final destiny of each man is directly determined by the good or evil state in which he dies. Theoretically speaking, an evil life may end with a good death, and a good life with an evil death. But practically, the probabilities are against this. It is not only risky, but criminal, to count on a death-bed repentance, and every Catholic is urged to make his last end as secure as possible by an earnest life, which is the highest assurance we possess of final perseverance.

Sanctification and “ Merit ”

Besides putting us in a new relation to God, justification carries with it a true quality of holiness or sanctification, but

not such as to dispense with the need of spiritual efforts to grow in holiness. We must stir up the grace within us, and use it as a means of advancing in God's service. The Church also holds that our reward in heaven will increase according to our increase of holiness in this life. Catholics ordinarily speak of this growth in grace and good works as growth in "merit"; but with the explanation already given—that all the "merit" springs from the grace by which we perform these works. The only credit due to ourselves is our willingness to co-operate with grace instead of rejecting it. Thus the faithful servant who gained the ten talents deserved his reward, not for the talents he used, which were not his own, but because of the good use he made of them, instead of putting them into a napkin.

IV. THE SACRAMENTS OF THE CHURCH

The Number and Meaning of the Sacraments

According to Catholics, certain definite means of grace have been provided by Christ in the Seven Sacraments of the Church. Of these seven, Protestants usually admit only two, viz., Baptism and the Lord's Supper. The description of a sacrament, as this term is used in the Church, is as follows: "A perceptible ceremony, instituted by Christ, to which He has attached some definite gift of grace, of which the ceremony is an outward sign." It is by the tradition of the Church and its constant practice that these five ceremonies (Confirmation, Confession, Ordination, Anointing of the Sick, and Matrimony) are included with Baptism and the Lord's Supper in the list of Sacraments. Catholics do not believe that the Sacraments have anything of the nature of magical charms or objects of superstitious reverence. They are revered simply as functions instituted by Christ, to which He has attached the promise of grace to those who receive them worthily.

Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, and Unction

The meaning and effect of Baptism has been already explained. It is only needful to add that certain symbolic ceremonies performed over and above the principal rite are due to custom and Church law, but are not essential, and in cases of urgency are omitted.

Confirmation is identified with the apostolic practice of laying on hands, whereby we receive the grace of the Holy Ghost to stand firm and true in the manly service of Christ. This sacrament is not essential to salvation.

Matrimony was elevated into a sacrament by attaching to it definitely the graces required for fidelity and mutual helpfulness in the married state.

The Anointing of the Sick, as described by St. James (v. 14), has been kept in practice by the Church ever since the apostolic age. It is, as St. James implies, a means of grace to the sick and dying, and may even tend to promote bodily recovery, but does not necessarily do so.

Ordination. "Sacerdotalism"

The Sacrament of Holy Orders conveys the graces and powers required for the ministrations of the clergy. Bishops thereby acquire grace to act as trusty guardians of the faith and rulers of the Church, and the power of administering all the sacraments. Priests receive power to consecrate the Eucharist and offer the Holy Sacrifice, and to administer Penance and Extreme Unction. Without sacramental ordination, the sacraments peculiar to each office have no validity, as not proceeding from ministers deputed by Christ.

This idea of a privileged class possessing powers not enjoyed by the laity, is sometimes contemptuously branded with the name of "sacerdotalism." If it were the usurpation of power by a caste or clique of men claiming for themselves a position of superiority, nothing could be more objectionable. But clergy and laity alike believe that such offices are of Christ's institution not for the depression but for the service of the laity; offices to be undertaken in the spirit of humble ministers of Christ, rather than that of proud masters of the people; nor is any one able to assume these offices to himself, but only those who are accepted, ordained, and commissioned by the authority of the Church in the name and person of Christ.

"The Lord's Supper"

The Eucharist (or Lord's Supper, as it is called by Protestants) is the sacrament for supplying our souls with the nourishment of spiritual food. It is believed that when the formulas of consecration are pronounced, the words of Christ, "This is My body," "This is My blood," are literally fulfilled, so that what were previously bread and wine become really

and truly Christ's body and blood. There is no deception of the senses ; for all the properties of bread and wine that can be discovered by inspection remain as before ; and yet the things themselves are no longer bread and wine, but Christ's body and blood concealed under those appearances. It is an invisible miracle and a mystery ; but still greater is the mystery of divine condescension, which thus brings Christ down among us, and into a most real, intimate, and mystical union with our souls.

Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament

It follows that since Christ is really present in the sacred elements, He can and ought to be adored there ; just as He would be adored if He came again on earth in His natural human form. Hence the Church causes the sacred Host (as the consecrated bread is termed) to be reserved in the tabernacles of the churches, not only for the use of the sick, but to enable the faithful to pay their devotions to Christ there present. The service of Benediction is an act of this kind of reverence ; the sacred Host being then exhibited on the altar for adoration. Processions of the Blessed Sacrament are another form of this devotion. Clearly the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament cannot be charged with superstition or idolatry ; for all the worship is directed to Christ's person, which is believed to be present by virtue of Christ's own express words, understood in their plain literal sense.

Communion in One Kind

According to the present discipline of the Church, the Blessed Sacrament is received in two kinds by the celebrant but distributed in one kind only to the faithful. Protestants regard the refusal of the cup to the laity as something counter to Christ's institution, and as mutilating the sacrament. Yet the practice of the early Church shows clearly that reception under one kind was sufficient. It was usual to communicate infants after baptism under the species of wine only. It was also common in time of persecution, for the faithful to take the species of bread to their homes and administer communion to themselves and their families under one kind alone. The same was done with regard to the sick. History affords us a striking example to show how Church discipline could be varied according to circumstances. Those who were infected by the Manichean heresy used to abstain from receiving the

cup, on the principle that wine was evil. In order to expose these secret heretics, the Church left it no longer optional to communicate under one kind, but required all to partake of the cup also. Later on, the risk of accidents to the chalice and other considerations caused the use of one kind only to prevail. It was not until a sect arose which insisted on the necessity of both kinds, that the Church, in protest and in defence of a doctrinal principle, made it a law that only one kind should be distributed. No Catholics believes that he is thereby deprived of any of the benefits of the sacrament, since under either kind he truly receives communion with the living Christ, whole and entire, which is the very idea of this sacrament. The purpose of the two species is found in the mystic representation of Christ's death signified thereby, and both are therefore necessary in the celebration of the Eucharist as a commemoration of Christ's passion in the Sacrifice of the Mass.

In the course of controversy with Protestants, the text (1 Cor. xi. 27) "Whosoever shall eat this bread *or* drink the chalice of the Lord unworthily," &c., has been used to prove the need of both kinds. But the argument is an unfair one: the Authorized Version misled its readers by using *and* in place of *or*; Protestant scholars admit that rendering to be an error, and it has in fact been corrected in the Revised Version; hence the inference falls to the ground.

The Sacrifice of the Mass

Besides being a sacrament, the Lord's Supper is a commemoration of the death of Christ; not, however, a mere historic commemoration, but a sacrificial commemoration, in which, while the human minister is performing the visible rite, Christ, the great High Priest of the new covenant, offers Himself to the Father in the attitude of a victim for our redemption. The idea is sublime, but difficult to explain. There are many passages scattered through the New Testament which seem to regard the act of redemption as no mere momentary act, exercising an influence over the future and the past but as an act mystically and yet truly eternal (cf. 1 Peter i. 20 with references there given; also many passages in Hebrews). Not only did Christ enter once into the holy place, obtaining in the act of entering (such seems to be the sense of the Greek) an eternal redemption (Heb. ix. 12), but this entrance into the holy place appears to be Christ's en-

trance into Heaven (Heb. ix. 24), where He ever lives to make intercession for us (Heb. vii. 25) ; thus exercising for ever His unchangeable and eternal priesthood by a continuous mediation, and carrying on for ever, though not repeating, the sacrifice once offered on the Cross (Heb. vii. 24 and chap. v). Hence in the Book of Revelation the Lamb is represented as alive, and yet standing as it had been slain (Greek, standing as slain) (Rev. v. 6). Certain obscure passages seem even to go so far as to remove the redemption out of connection with any particular time, as in Rev. xiii. 8, which reads as if the Lamb had been slain from the beginning of the world. There are other places which treat Christ's appearance on earth as the manifestation of a mystery kept secret from the beginning of the world, by which those who lived before His coming had been redeemed (cf. again 1 Peter i. 20 and refs.). Without pressing this mysterious language too far, it may at least serve to illustrate the idea underlying the Catholic doctrine of the Mass, in which Christ's eternal intercession as the victim of redemption is, as it were, directed to His Father from the local centre of an earthly altar (and that we have an altar is clearly emphasized in Heb. xiii. 10). In this manner the mystery of redemption is, as it were, brought nearer to us through the ages, and made sensibly real to us in our midst here and now. By this continual priestly function is fulfilled that prophecy of Malachi (i. 11) which tells of a clean oblation (*minchah*) to be offered in every place among the Gentiles, from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same.

The correctness of any attempt to conceive this sublime idea will be safeguarded by the following theological propositions : (1) In the Mass, Jesus Christ is the Priest, offering Himself as the victim of redemption to the Father ; (2) Christ's offering of Himself is identically the same as that on Calvary, but the manner is bloodless and mystical ; (3) The human minister acts in the name and person of Christ, being strictly only Christ's deputy or instrument for the performance of the external rite ; (4) The Mass is a local application of the one great sacrifice of Calvary to particular groups of souls, in divers times and places, rather than a repetition of the sacrifice itself.

Any idea, therefore, which Protestants have conceived of the Mass being derogatory to the one sacrifice or to the priesthood of Christ, is due mainly to the difficulty of understanding

this very deep subject, and is not to be wondered at. A careful study of the above remarks will, at least, clear us of this charge.

Auricular Confession, or Penance

In pronouncing the words "Receive ye the Holy Ghost ; whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven them, and whose sins you shall retain they are retained" (John xx. 22, 23), Christ bestowed on the Apostles that power which is exercised in the Sacrament of Penance. This sacrament is the outward and visible means by which those who after baptism have lost the grace of God by grave sin may, through repentance, confession, and absolution receive pardon and reconciliation with God. As in the case of other sacraments, the value of the outward function consists in giving us a definite sign of the forgiveness we have received, instead of leaving the repentant soul in a state of harrowing uncertainty. Sincere sorrow and sincere confession, and a purpose of avoiding sin for the future, are the conditions for a valid reception of the sacrament. Confession is, therefore, no magical means for getting rid of sin ; for instead of dispensing with repentance, it is valueless without repentance ; and if this is wanting, the priest may be deceived, but God is not mocked, and the sacrament is worse than useless. The priest acts the part of an intermediary as regards hearing the confession ; but as far as the effects are concerned, it is a matter entirely between the soul and God.

Confession not a Barrier between the Soul and God

Hence the popular objection that confession places a barrier between the soul and God, is quite fallacious. The office of a confessor is that of a helper, for his training enables him to solve doubts, to ease difficulties, to offer advice as to the way of avoiding sin, and to give encouragement to the weak. Many a soul has felt the need of some one who, from his position, can receive confidence in a purely professional and at the same time sympathetic spirit, and discuss difficulties and troubles in the light of a wide experience, and yet never betray any consciousness of having received such confidences at all—and this is the function which a confessor exercises for those who wish it. On the other hand, those who need no such help can make their confession in a business-like manner without question or discussion or comment, except of the briefest kind ; selecting, if they like, a confessor noted for

taciturnity. It is true that a sensitive subject sometimes finds an ordeal in barely mentioning sins committed ; but the feeling wears off when it is found that an experienced confessor is surprised at nothing, having often heard every kind of sin in the course of his experience ; that he is never supposed to scold his penitents, but to direct all his remarks towards their help or encouragement.

Confession not a Danger to Morals

As for the alleged moral unhealthiness of priest and penitent dealing in matters of a delicate nature, this objection comes only from those who know nothing of the confessional in practice. If the matter is plain and straightforward no question or discussion is needed. If the penitent needs advice or help, it can be given in the same professional way as a doctor would give it. But confessors are trained to great prudence in this matter, and are taught that "it is better to fall short by reserve a thousand times than to go beyond the mark by a single superfluous question." They are cautious never to say a word which will convey fresh knowledge of sin to innocent minds ; and a bishop who came across a case of imprudence in this matter would take active measures to prevent it occurring again.

The Practice of Confession

There is no absolute necessity to go to confession except in case of grave sin ; but it is a laudable and customary practice to do so, as a safer preparation for communion, and also to confess all sins that the soul is conscious of without drawing any hard and fast distinction between graver and lighter sins.

V. PRACTICES AND DEVOTIONS OF THE CHURCH

Difficulty of taking up New Practices

Those who, by reading the foregoing pages, have come to see the main doctrines of the Church in a reasonable light, may still be kept back by the difficulty of taking up certain practices and devotions of Catholics which they have been accustomed to regard as objectionable. These it is now necessary to explain, together with the doctrinal basis on which they rest. To smooth away difficulties it may first be remarked, in general, that no convert is obliged to plunge at once into the practice of every kind of Catholic devotion.

He must begin by acknowledging the doctrine on which they rest and the legitimacy of their practice. In course of time he will find himself naturally drawn rather to one devotion than another ; and need have no fear of following his preferences, since the choice of devotions is largely a matter of taste.

The Worship of Our Lord

Obviously, devotion in some form or another to Christ our Lord is the essential part of a Catholic life. Two special forms of devotion alone need explanation. Devotion to Christ in the Blessed Sacrament means prayer and worship directed to Him as being really present on the altar of the Church and in a spirit of gratitude for the gift of this great sacrament. Devotion to the Sacred Heart regards Christ specially in the aspect of His human nature and the affectionate love of His human heart for mankind. It will be seen from these examples that devotions to Christ only differ from each other by the particular line of thought which dominates our prayers to Him. The worship directed to Christ is of the highest kind such as is due to God alone ; since He is the second person of the Blessed Trinity.

Reverence for the Saints

The subsidiary devotions now to be considered are of a totally different kind and stand on another footing. They concern our fellow-creatures in the household of God. If the word " worship " is ever used with regard to a creature it is used in the wide sense in which our forefathers used to speak of the " worshipful company of fishmongers " or as we now address a judge as " your worship." It is practically better not to use the word " worship " at all and to take in its place the more ordinary terms " reverence " or " honour." No one can object to Catholics reverencing Mary or honouring the Saints : the only complaint which might be raised is against regarding this reverence and honour as part of religion. To this the answer is quite clear. Religion is necessarily concerned with many objects besides God. It involves the love of others for God's sake. To love our neighbour as ourselves is a part of religion. St. Paul teaches that it is part of the Christian religion to honour the king. Our Lady herself declares that all generations shall call her blessed. To honour those whom God has delighted to honour is to reverence God Himself in His noblest works.

Praying to the Saints

But we go a step further in praying to them ; and it is imagined that prayer ought to be directed to God alone. Yet prayer only means asking for what we want ; and provided those in heaven take an interest in us on earth, and can hear us when we speak to them—as the Church teaches to be the case—there is no more objection to our asking them to help us by their prayers than there was to St. Paul asking the Ephesians and other Christians to pray for him (Eph. vi. 19 ; Phil. iv. 3 ; 1 Thess. v. 25 ; 2 Thess. iii. 1). If the saints on earth can be asked for prayers, why not the saints in heaven ? If St. Paul's request for the prayers of his fellow-Christians on earth does not encroach on Christ's sole mediatorship, neither does our request for the prayers of the blessed in heaven. No Catholic can be so ignorant or stupid as to imagine that in praying to the saints he is praying to God. Nor can it be objected that we pray too much to the saints and too little to God. The whole of Mass and Communion, Vespers, Benediction, the Stations of the Cross, Devotions to the Sacred Heart, the use of all the Sacraments ; these, one and all, are acts of the direct worship of God ; prayers to the Saints are, as it were, thrown in incidentally and now and then, and hold the subsidiary place to which they are entitled. Even the Rosary is not mainly an act of devotion to Mary, but is more properly a rapid review of the chief events of the life of Christ. Only two out of the fifteen mysteries concern our Lady alone ; in the rest Mary only figures as she figures in the Gospel ; and in several she does not appear at all. As for the recitation of the "Hail Mary," this is mainly a repetition of the greeting addressed by the Angel Gabriel and St. Elizabeth to our Lady, a practice to which no one can reasonably object.

Devotion to Our Lady

The main idea being clear, we can deal more in detail with the Church's doctrine concerning our Lady. It may be summed up briefly under three heads ; First, Mary is mother of the God-Man Jesus Christ, and is a most eminent saint, dear to God and man. Secondly, she takes an interest in the faithful on earth, redeemed, like herself, by the blood of her Son, and prays for them in heaven. Thirdly, it is legitimate and becoming to honour her, and to ask for her prayers. On the other hand, the Church repudiates all idea that Mary is

more than a creature, or that her intercession stands on the same level or in any way means the same thing as the intercession of her Divine Son. Any language used by foreign devotional writers which seems to English ears to suggest otherwise, would be condemned by the Church if intended to bear such an objectionable sense ; but such expressions ought rather to be taken in a rhapsodical and poetic sense, and not to be regarded as serious doctrinal prose. As a matter of taste, it might be better to restrict in some way the use of words, for it is in this case as in the abuse of superlatives : if we exhaust our highest language over Mary, we shall have no higher language left to apply to our Lord. But matters of taste are not matters of dogma.

The Immaculate Conception

The doctrine of the Immaculate Conception simply means that our Lady, in view of her exalted office, was endowed with God's grace from the first moment of her existence, instead of being conceived and born in original sin. Every Christian receives this purification from original sin by baptism ; in our Lady's case the effect of baptism was anticipated. We cannot hence infer that Mary did not owe her redemption to Christ's death, but only that the grace of redemption was conferred beforehand in view of Christ's future merits ; just as was the case with the saints of the Old Testament, who received their justification before Christ came on earth. The idea of this total freedom from the stain of original sin will seem more natural by the fact that Adam and Eve both enjoyed this privilege in their creation ; and had it not been for the Fall every member of the human race would also have been immaculately conceived. As to the definition of this doctrine in 1854 by Pius IX, enough has been said in the section on development of doctrine (p. 12).

Statues, Pictures, and Relics

The above remarks will make it superfluous to deal with devotion to other saints in the calendar of the Church. As regards the use of statues, crucifixes, and pious pictures, the Church allows them as means to help the memory and imagination. No one can say that graven images were absolutely forbidden by the law of Moses, since graven cherubim and lions, oxen and palms, flowers and pomegranates, were freely

used in the ornaments of the tabernacle and the temple. Such objects were forbidden to be made for the purpose of idolatry. The Church is quite unnecessarily clear in asserting that we do not pray to images, for they can neither see, hear, or help us. The same applies to the veneration of the Cross and relics of the saints, which stand on a par with heirlooms and property once belonging to those we love and reverence. As for the act of bending the knee before such objects, it might as a matter of taste be preferable to restrict the kneeling attitude to acts of divine adoration. But so long as Englishmen continue to bend the knee before the King or bow before his throne, there ought to be no difficulty in allowing Catholics to do the same before the sign of redemption or the relics and images of the saints.

Indulgences : The Idea of Temporal Punishment

In any Catholic prayer-book there will be found attached to certain prayers such remarks as the following : " 40 days' indulgence," " 100 days' indulgence," or " A plenary indulgence is granted for the devout recital of the following prayer." It need hardly be said that these indulgences do not mean a privilege to commit sin. To explain what they do mean will require a somewhat lengthy consideration.

The root idea underlying the use of indulgences is that Christ, in freely gaining for us the grace of forgiveness and reconciliation, did not abrogate the law of right order and healthy discipline, which requires that wickedness should never be passed over with impunity, that sin should carry with it some penalty, and that forgiveness should not leave us without the obligation of making some amends for the past, even after the sin itself has been forgiven. According to this principle, the Church teaches that every sin committed after baptism incurs a debt of temporal punishment. This debt or part of it may remain, even after the offence against God has been condoned, and must be paid to the uttermost farthing ; either in this life, by penance or other works of Christian virtue, or in that state of purgation which intervenes between our death and our entrance into heaven. Every act of Christian virtue we perform can be accepted by God as amends for past sin, whether it be prayer, almsgiving, or works of self-punishment, such as fasting and other forms of penance, or even the incidental hardships of life borne with patience. This doctrine carries with it the double

advantage of affording a check on sin and an incentive to earnestness of life. To Protestants it may appear novel, but ought not to appear unreasonable.

The Use of Indulgences

In ancient times the Church used to take the matter in hand by imposing severe penances for the more grievous sins. The good disposition of the penitent, or the prayers of the confessors and martyrs, sometimes led to a remission or shortening of the penance; and any such remission was called an "indulgence." The ancient discipline is now obsolete, except so far as its practice survives in the short prayers given as a "penance" in the confessional. The Church, however, retains the custom of attaching "indulgences" to certain forms of prayer or other good works which she specially wishes to encourage; and still preserves a relic of ancient forms by assigning numbers of days to the indulgence—"40 days," "100 days," or a full and "plenary indulgence." These numbers have no definite assignable value except for comparing one indulgence with another; since we know neither the measure of the debt due, nor the absolute value of each penance in the sight of God. The power of the Church to assign expiatory value to prayers and good works springs from her jurisdiction over the sins of the faithful, and rests on the belief that the wishes of the Church, expressed in granting an indulgence, will be ratified by the application of Christ's merits to the advantage of those who use them. A plenary indulgence is one in which the wish of the Church is unlimited except by the full needs of the individual soul. And if such an indulgence be performed with the highest devotion, it is believed that God will regard the whole penitential debt as satisfied. But the actual results of indulgences remain a secret known only to God. Catholics generally speak of the penitential value of such acts as "satisfaction," not in any sense which touches the satisfaction made by Christ for the guilt of our sins, but as meeting the debt of temporal punishment which, as already explained, God has attached to sin to prevent it from being passed over with impunity.

Purgatory and Prayer for the Dead

Closely allied with this question is the subject of purgatory, where the residue of penitential satisfaction is undergone if

full amends for sin have not been made in this life. We know nothing with certainty about purgatory, except the fact of its existence, and that it involves a delay in entering heaven till the last relics of sinfulness are purged away. We are told nothing of the amount, kind, or duration of its purgative processes. We know, however, that by our intercessions and other good works we can help those detained there. Hence the practice of prayers for the dead, and the application of indulgences to the souls of the departed.

The Communion of Saints

From what has been said it will be seen how the Catholic idea of the Communion of Saints brings the blessed in heaven, the faithful on earth, and the souls in purgatory into one great family and household of God, bound together by an intercourse of prayer and intercession; the Church triumphant helping the Church militant, the Church militant helping the Church suffering; all united in the common offices of mutual charity, and all working for the one great end of God's greater glory and the happiness and well-being of mankind.

Fasting and Abstinence

No one can deny that this is a usage recognized and recommended by Christ and His Apostles, and practised by the early Christians; and that the Church is more Scriptural in retaining it than Protestants are in abandoning it. The only question is whether it suits the present age or not to impose fasting and abstinence as a routine duty, instead of leaving it to each one's devotion. However, the Church still retains an immemorial custom, which seems strange to Protestants only because they have abandoned its observance. But circumstances have introduced the need for many exemptions and dispensations, at least in this country; and the rigour of ancient discipline has been mollified to suit the case. Even for those who through weakness or excessive occupation cannot practise it, it still serves as a reminder that we do not live for pleasure only, and that self-mortification in moderation is good for the soul.

Church Ceremonies

The liturgical services of the Church are solemn and dignified, but cannot be called simple. They are more or less

dramatic, and as far as possible magnificent in their appointments ; music, lights and incense, vessels of gold and silver, embroidered vestments, all contribute to this effect. Protestants have been accustomed to a bald, bare service, and fail to understand the Catholic usage. Let us admit at once that it is no question of divine appointment, and mainly a matter of taste ; and the Catholic taste happens to have tended towards making the public functions of the Church as splendid as possible. If this is found attractive to the people and induces them to attend service without weariness, it is difficult to see any objection to it. But when the novelty wears off, these exhibitions of splendour cease to be sensational, and become instead full of interest, religious significance, and devotion.

The Use of the Latin Tongue

The use of Latin is felt to be perplexing to strangers. But to Catholics the difficulty does not occur, as they are accustomed to follow the service with an intelligent knowledge of its meaning, and a translation, or suitable private devotions. Possibly, if the English or Scotch people were to come over to the Church in large bodies, the Pope might willingly grant them an English liturgy, since he has made similar concessions among the Eastern schismatics. There is nothing essential involved, and Latin has its advantages and disadvantages. Converts, as a rule, find their objection vanish almost as soon as they have joined the Church. The movement now afoot in favour of English evening services, and the congregational singing of English hymns, will do something towards meeting the want where it is felt.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, can the labour of examining the claims of the Catholic Church, or the trouble of submitting to them, be evaded by thinking that, after all, religion itself is very much a matter of taste, and, provided a man leads a good life, one religion is as good as another ?

The labour and the trouble may be evaded, but not the responsibility. If all religions were human inventions, one religion would be as good as another. But if Christ has

instituted one, and not the rest, one religion is not as good as another ; in fact, there can be only one good religion, and that the one instituted by Christ, taken in the way He instituted it.

The foregoing pages will perhaps have shown that the Catholic Church is not what she is believed to be by many Protestants, who in their opposition to her are opposing what is only a creature of the imagination. If this fact has been made clear, the reader's next duty will be to inquire further into the claims of the Church ; since, if she be the true Church of Christ, it must be the unquestionable duty of every one to submit to her authority and enter into her fold.

CHRISTADELPHIANISM*

BY J. W. POYNTER

There is, in honest enthusiasm, something which appeals strongly to one's sympathies. A man is earnestly convinced of some doctrine which therefore he conceives it as his binding duty to propagate to the utmost of his power. He devotes his time, his intellect, and his energy to endeavours to spread abroad that doctrine. On this account, then, one cannot but feel human sympathy for people like the Salvationists,, the Russellites, the Christadelphians, and others of similar enthusiastic zeal. At the same time, one immediately calls to mind the fact that it is not only one, but all, of these sects which is absolutely convinced that they are right. *But*—they contradict one another ! The Salvationist teaching about hell-fire and immortality is no whit less certain he is right than is the Christadelphian, who teaches that the above doctrines, in any ordinary sense, are false ! Evidently, then, zeal is, in itself, no test of truth. A doctrine must stand or fall precisely in so far as it can produce reasonable motives of credibility.

One cannot go into any large town, in England at

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least, without coming across the Christadelphians. True, they have neither large nor beautiful churches; but such things are not in accordance with their beliefs, so the absence of them is no evidence of lack of members of the sect. In the halls of public libraries; in little meeting-houses even in disused railway-stations of which they have converted the waiting-rooms into places of assembly; they meet to teach the one true faith as they conceive it. They always say, "Bring your Bible with you, so as to test what is said." They undoubtedly make an impression, at least in large towns. What, then, is the substance of their doctrine?

Their standard text-book is entitled *Christendom Astray: Popular Christianity (both in Faith and Practice) shown to be Unscriptural; and the true Nature of the Ancient Apostolic Faith Exhibited; by Robert Roberts*: (Birmingham, C. C. Walker; and at all Christadelphian meeting-places). The title accurately represents the claim they make: "Christendom, the ostensible repository of revealed truth, is away from that truth."¹ Again²: "Protestants are in the habit of believing that the Reformation abolished all the errors of Rome, and gave us the truth in its purity. Why should they hold this conclusion? Were the Reformers inspired? Were Luther, Calvin, John Knox, Wycliffe, and other energetic men who brought about the change in question, *infallible*? If they were so, there is an end of the controversy; but no one will take this position who is competent to form an opinion on the subject. If the Reformers were

¹ *Christendom Astray*, ed. 1914, p. iii. ² *Ib.* pp. 6-7.

not inspired and infallible, is it not right and rational to set the Bible above them, and to try their work by the only standard which can be applied in our day?"

The logic of this seems, it must be confessed, somewhat to "limp"—especially when we bear in mind that the same text-book says elsewhere¹—"It (Christadelphianism) asserts certain things to be the truth that are not accepted by Christendom"; "Qualification (to be a Christian minister) is not a question of 'ordination'; it comes with enlightenment Tradition clings to 'holy orders.' Of these we hear nothing in the Scripture." What does it all come to but this:—We must follow the Bible and the Bible alone²; the Protestant Reformers claimed to do this, but we have no security in their interpretations, for those interpretations were merely *their* opinions; the Christadelphians profess to follow the Bible only; their interpretations, however, can safely be taken as the certain truth—though it is very wrong to think anyone's views "infallible"! What a mass of confused thinking, to be sure! The Christadelphians, in fact, are simply an ordinary Protestant sect, originated in precisely the same way as other such sects, and with no more validity, in a claim to have a specially true message, than had (or has) any other such denomination. True, its advocate writes loftily of Christendom being "astray," but, in this, what does he differ from Luther (whom he despises!), who said: ³ "Whoever teaches otherwise

¹ Ib. p. iii, and 2. ² Ib, p. 8..

³ *Saemtliche Werke*, xxviii, 346.

than I teach, condemns God, and must remain a child of hell"—or of Calvin (whom also he despises), who said¹: "Dieu m'a fait la grace de me declarer ce qui est bon et mauvais"? In what way do the Christadelphians differ, in principle, from the principle upon which rest the other Protestant sects? How can they claim to be elevated above these sects which they profess to despise, and from which they suppose themselves radically to differ?

Their essential oneness with ordinary Protestantism is further shown by the fact that, as the basis of their whole position, they have simply taken *the ordinary English Protestant Bible*—evidently unaware that that version rests entirely, so far as it differs from the Catholic Bible, upon the foundation of that very Protestant sectarianism to which they imagine themselves superior!

This fact is exemplified still more by their *treatment* of the Bible. "The demonstration," they say, "is by the Holy Scriptures."² "We shall assume, throughout these lectures, that the Bible is a book of Divine authorship."³ "The books of the prophets, from Isaiah to Malachi"⁴ The ordinary Protestant (thus differing from the Catholic) version of the Bible, as regards the Old Testament, ends at Malachi; the Christadelphians have simply taken this version, uncritically and with no inkling of difficulty, from the very sects they profess to despise. They are apparently quite unaware that this very question, as to what books compose the Biblical Canon, is one which

¹ *Lettres françaises*, vol. i. p. 389.

² *Chr. Astray*, p. 3. ³ *Ib.* p. 2. ⁴ *Ib.* p. 3.

(if you reject the authority of the Catholic Church), is beset with confusions; and there is no conclusive reason for that security which the Christadelphians imagine themselves to possess when they give their trust to the Canon they take from the English sects of Protestantism.

Eusebius (A.D. about 300) says that there were 18 books of which it was disputed whether they were canonical parts of Holy Scripture or not; and that amongst these were *The Epistle of James and Jude, The Second Epistle of Peter, The Revelation of St. John, and The Epistle to the Hebrews*.¹ St. Jerome, also, records that some reject *Hebrews* and the *Apocalypse*.²

Indeed, as the Rev. W. Waterworth remarked³: “Prior to the close of the fourth century there is not a single catalogue of the Sacred Scriptures which wholly agrees with the Canon admitted by Protestants. The oldest catalogue known is that of Papias or Caius, to which Muratori and the learned Dr. Routh (President of Magdalen College, Oxford, from 1791 till his death in 1854) have drawn public attention. It is certainly as old as the second century. *Wisdom* is here inserted after the *Second Epistle of St. John*; whilst the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, that of *St. James*, the *Third of St. John*, and the *Second and Third of St. Peter*, are wholly omitted. Melito, of Sardis, omits *Esther* and *Nehemias*; Cyril and the Council of Laodicea omit the book of *Apocalypse*; the Apostolic Canons enumerate, among the sacred books, *Judith*, three books of *Maccabees*, with

¹ *Eccles. Hist.*, book 3, ch. 25 and ch. 3.

² *Epist. ad Dardanum*.

³ *Origin of Anglicanism*, ed. 1854, pp. 219-220

the addition of the *Wisdom of Sirach*, or *Ecclesiasticus*. . . . The Athanasian synopsis omits Esther and admits *Baruch*, the *Song of the Three Children* and the history of *Bel and the Dragon*; Epiphanius too receives *Baruch*."

In the time of the Protestant Reformation, the tale was equally perplexing. Beza censured the translation of Æcolampadius; Castalio censured that of Beza; Molinæus that of Castalio. Luther censured Munzer, and Zwingli censured Luther, for misrendering the Bible. Henry VIII.'s Parliament of 1543 censured "the crafty, false, and untrue translation of Tyndall."¹

What then is the state of the actual case as to the Canon of the Bible? If, as we have seen that the Christadelphians claim, "earnestminded people (will) throw aside tradition," then there is no such thing as a Bible at all, in any intelligible sense; for that would mean that we must get our list of Biblical books from the Bible itself; but in no book ever accepted as canonical is any list given of what books make up the Bible.

The only possible way, then, of knowing what is, and what is not, "the Bible," is by *some authority outside the Bible*. The Catholic Church is such an authority, and it has fixed the list of the Biblical Canon. Unfortunately for the Christadelphians, however, they reject that Canon, and have accepted instead the one usually received by the sects of English Protestants. Yet they profess to reject, and to be superior to, those sects; from which, as a matter of fact, they have

¹ Waterworth, *Origin*, pp. 177-180.

in reality trustingly and confidingly received the very Bible "Canon" to which they have bound all their beliefs, and on which they entirely depend ! They cannot say they get their Canon from the Bible itself ; for the Bible contains no list of any Canon. They cannot appeal to the *Catholic* Canon, for they call the Catholic Church "Antichrist." They cannot appeal to any "consensus of historical opinion," for there is none. Logically, therefore, one would be perfectly justified in dismissing the whole subject here ; but such a proceeding would be very unsatisfactory.

Christendom Astray consists of over three hundred closely-printed pages, full of Biblical quotations, interpretations of those quotations, metaphysical speculations, historical references, and so on. The basis of the whole edifice is, as we have seen, bad, so the superstructure must be insecure also ; none the less it is well to examine that superstructure itself, because many people, predisposed to believe in Christadelphianism, may otherwise be inclined to make an "act of faith" if we do not show—by examining some principal points—that the superstructure is as unsound as the foundation.

The fundamental principle laid down in *Christendom Astray* is that the Bible must be taken in its plain, literal sense. "It ought to be easy to maintain that, with certain qualifications, *the Bible means what it says* ; and so it is."¹ "The Bible . . . performs its office in a direct and sensible way, going at once to its work without any scholastic preliminaries, taking it for granted that certain words represent certain

¹ *Chr. Astray*, p. 8.

ideas, and using those words in their current significance.”¹ “Metaphor is allowable, as a means of interpretation, *only when it would also be allowable in ordinary speech.* The normal rule is: The *literal* sense, of Holy Writ, is the *true* sense.”² (italics mine throughout).

No one will deny that there is a great measure of truth in this principle, considered merely as a principle and apart from erroneous applications thereof. Yet even so the Christadelphian writer exaggerates the simplicity of the matter. Holy Writ itself says,³ “Our most dear brother Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you: as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things: in which are certain things hard to be understood, which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other scriptures, to their own destruction.”

However—assuming the entire soundness of the maxim that the Bible is to be taken literally and in its plain sense,—we must ask why it is that, in fact, the Christadelphian system so gravely fails so to take it on many essential points?

“Tradition,” says the text-book,⁴ “clings to ‘holy orders.’ Of these we hear nothing in the Scripture.” Again:⁵ “Christadelphians, scattered throughout the world, have no ecclesiastical organisation They have no ‘ministers’ or paid officials of any kind,” and they have “no rulers.” Yet, does not Scripture clearly show that Holy Orders was instituted by Our Lord, and was an essential

¹ *Ib.* p. 9.² *Ib.* p. 11.³ 2 Peter iii. 15, 16.⁴ *Chr. Astray*, p. 2.⁵ *Ib.* pp. 318-9.

part of the Church He founded? "And they chose (Stephen, Philip, etc.) These they set before the Apostles: and they, praying, imposed hands on them"¹;—also: "The Holy Ghost said to them: Separate Me Saul and Barnabas, for the work whereunto I have taken them. Then they fasting and praying, and imposing their hands upon them, sent them away"²;—also: "And they ordained them priests (*presbuterous*) in every church"³;—also: "He (Christ) breathed on them; and He said to them, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins' ". . . etc.⁴; also: "Neglect not the grace that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with imposition of the hands of the priesthood"⁵—also: "He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry"⁶;—again: "Obey your prelates (*tois hegoumenois*—literally, *rulers*), and be subject to them"⁷;—again: "The Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel."⁸ It is plain, then, that, according to the Bible, Holy Orders is a proper institution of the Church; that it was appointed as such by Christ; that the Church has (over its members), authority to "rule"; and that its ministry should be paid. In other words, Christadelphianism contradicts the very standard to which it professes to appeal: *i.e.*, the Bible.

¹ Acts vi, 5-6.

² Acts xiii, 2-3.

³ *Ib.* xiv, 22.

⁴ John x, 22-23.

⁵ I Tim. iv. 14.

⁶ Ephes. iv. 11-12.

⁷ Heb. xiii, 17.

⁸ I Corinth. ix. 14.

Christadelphianism, again, has no word in favour of the ecclesiastical primacy of St. Peter, although what could be plainer than: *Matt. xvi. 18-19*; *Luke xxii. 31-2*; *John xxi. 15-17*?

Christadelphianism has no word in favour of the Real Presence of our Lord in the Eucharist, although what could be plainer than *Matt. xxvi., 26*; *Mark xiv, 22-4*; *Luke xxii, 19*; *John vi., 48-67* (an evident prediction, and refutation, of modern anti-transubstantiationists); *Corinth. x, 16*?

Christadelphianism rejects the doctrine of eternal punishment, though what could be plainer than: "Our Lord Jesus Christ shall be revealed from heaven with the angels of His power: in a flame of fire yielding vengeance to them who know not God, and who obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall suffer eternal punishment in destruction." (*2 Thess. i, 7-9.*)

Christadelphianism has no place for the sacrament of penance and the power of the Christian priesthood to remit sin as delegates of our Lord; yet what could be plainer than *John xx, 23*?

II.

"The life of man," says the Christadelphian text-book, ". . . is the very same life that is possessed by the beasts of the field." Again: "The proposition we have to maintain . . . is *that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is an untrue doctrine.*" Again: "The doctrine of the immortality of the soul will be found to be the great error of the age." "Our argument," the book goes on to say,

"may appear to savour of infidel tendencies ; but we are confident this appearance will disappear." Indeed : "The doctrine of the immortality of the soul will be found to be . . . the great obstruction to the progress of true Christianity !" ¹

The author of the Christadelphian text-book apparently fails to realize the implications of his doctrine on this subject. What of the essential difference between "instinct," as in lower animals, and reason ?

"What is reason? A chemist analyses a pint of water, finding as a result that it resolves into two volumes of hydrogen and one volume of oxygen ; again, he takes a quart of the same liquid, submits it to a similar process, with the result as before, that he finds the quart, equally with the pint, to be composed of hydrogen and oxygen in the proportion of two to one. He may repeat the process with any quantity of water, small or great, and he will invariably arrive at the same result. Now, mark the action of reason : the pint, the quart, the gallon of water were all particular things perceptible to the senses, but from the examination of them he has arrived at a universal conclusion which his senses could never have attained to ; he has discovered the *nature of water* We see, then, that the chemist has a faculty which is superior to the senses, an immaterial faculty ; for his senses, ... being material, are only capable of recording particular objects, of perceiving particular sensations, but he has arrived at a universal principle, 'the nature of water.' " ² From this "abstracting "

¹ *Christendom Astray*, pp. 312, 15 and 27. .

² P. M. Northcote, *Reason and Instinct*. pp 3-4.

faculty come all our inventions, our ingenious mental variations, our philosophies, our art, our progress, even our deterioration. We are often told to look at the wonderful bee-hives, ant-hills, and other products of the lower creation; do they not display reason? No! If ants, if bees, possessed reason, they would vary beyond all calculation. One ant might at any moment think, "I will not make a hill on old patterns; I will have a style of my own;" a bee would think, "Let me try a Gothic hive, a Byzantine hive, or a Tudor hive; I am sick of the old styles." Man does this; and, also, man has religions, arts, philosophies, progress, even retrogression—infinite or indefinite variations due to free will and the mental power of "abstraction" which is the result of the possession of an immaterial soul. Animals, however, have none of this. There is, then, an essential difference between the souls of animals and of human beings.

Christendom Astray (p. 18) says: "It is argued that the possession of 'reason' is evidence of the existence of an immortal and immaterial soul in man. The logic of this argument is difficult of discovery. Reason is unquestionably a wonderful attribute and an incomprehensible function of the mental machinery: but how can it be held to prove the existence of a something beyond knowledge, since there can be no known connection between that which is incomprehensible and that which is unknown (*sic*; ? "known")? To say that we have an indestructible soul, because we have reasonable faculty, is to repeat the mistake of our forefathers of the last generation, who referred the achievements of machinery to Satanic agency,

because in their ignorance they were unable to account for them in any other way. We may not be able to understand how it is that reason is evolved by the organization with which God has endowed us, but, we are compelled to recognise the self-evident fact that it is so evolved."

A strange mingling of fallacies, indeed! The ultimate nature of the soul is "beyond knowledge," and, therefore, the advocates of the doctrine of immortality are accused of exploring a realm which is "incomprehensible;" *their* conclusions, then, are valueless;—but not so the conclusions of the Christadelphian, who, though dealing with exactly the same subject, is certain that *his* conclusions are true! "Tails you lose, heads I win!" We reply, of course, that our author has mistaken what it is that is "beyond knowledge." True, we cannot plumb ultimate mysteries of creation, or of the interaction of matter and spirit. We can, however, know the facts of everyday and notorious experience: those, namely, which we have described above as proving the immateriality of our souls and their distinction from souls of "animals." It is no reply, to these plain facts, to remind us of the "superstitions of our ancestors." Those superstitions arose from the fact that our ancestors were faced with cases which might possibly be due to Satanic or other non-natural agency, or to material forces; and they chose the former alternative. They had alternatives, and chose the wrong one. The case of the nature of our souls, however, is very different. Here we find faculties of abstraction, and of substantial unity and freedom of will, which are in their nature opposed to the pro-

perties of physical matter. The conclusion, then, that our souls are immaterial and spiritual, seems not a mere wrong choice of alternatives, but the *only* choice.

From the above arguments, a reader may think that in dealing with the Christadelphian doctrine in regard to the soul, we are dealing with mere atheistic materialism. The real fact, however, is even more remarkable. What Christadelphianism believes in is—*Conditional Immortality*.

Before treating of this, however, we must remind the reader that Christadelphianism *professes* to “go by the Bible only;” and that, in its denial that we have immortal souls, it claims to rest *on Scripture*. Take the following passage (p. 24): “Of the doctrine of the immortality of the soul *there is* (in the Bible) *not the slightest mention*. This fact is acknowledged by eminent Theologians, but does not seem to suggest to their minds the fictitiousness of the doctrine. They argue that the reason of this is that it (immortality) is so self-evident as to require no enunciation.”

Is not, however, the Old Testament full of the judgement, the mercy, and the divine holiness of God, not as remote facts, but as facts with which humanity is directly concerned? The Covenant with Abraham (*Genesis*, xvii); the eternity and ineffability of God (“I am who am.”—*Exodus* iii, 14; *cf. John* viii, 56-58); the duty of doing good to those who hate us (*Exodus* xxiii, 5; *Leviticus* xix, 18); the vehement condemnations of idolatry (*Exodus* xx, 4; xxiii, 23-8; xxxii, 1-6; 17-18; 25-8; xxxiv. 14-17; *Leviticus* xvii, 7; xxvi; *Numbers* xiv, 33; xxxiii, 52; *Deuteronomy* iv. 16-19; 23; 28; v, 8-9; vii, 5, 26; xii, 2-3; xiii, 6-11; xvi, 21-2; xxvii,

11-26 ; xxix, 17 ; xxxii, 17, 24, 27-8 ; *Judges* ii, 1-2 ; 17 ; etc.) ; the elaborate *ritual* commanded to be used in God's service (*Exodus* xxv, 3-13 ; 18-20 ; 31-36 ; all chapter xxvi ; ditto xxviii ; ch. xxxvi, 1, to xxxviii, 20 ; *Numbers* ; *Leviticus* ; *Deuteronomy*, etc.) ; the curses against those who fall away from God (*Leviticus* xxvi, 14-41 ; *Lamentations* ii, 20 ; iv, 8-10 ; *Deuteronomy* xxvii, 11-26 ; xxviii, 15-16 ; etc.) ; the need to obey *every tittle* of the Divine *Torah* (*Deuteronomy* iv, 2 ; *Isaias* xxx, 21 ; cf. *Galatians* v, 3 ; *James* ii, 10-11) ;—all this proves, from *Genesis* to the *Apocalypse*, that God is the all-holy, eternal Spirit, and that mankind is intimately related to Him as Judge—some to receive from Him reward, others woe ; and what does this imply but that we are, as regards our souls, spiritual and immortal—for to what others could such age-long Divine guidance apply ?

As we have noted, however, Christadelphianism relies on the theory of *Conditional Immortality* to put another complexion on all this.

What, first, does the theory of “ Conditional Immortality ” mean ? “ Many,” says the Christadelphian text-book, “ jump to the conclusion that the position [described in the above quotations] taken in the two previous lectures, involves a denial of future retribution, and even the rejection of the existence of God. That this is a great mistake will presently be made apparent There is a natural aspiration for immortality in the human breast It is customary to argue, from our desire for immortality, that we are actually immortal. The argument [however] turns the other way. If we desire a thing, our desire is evidence that we are yet without the object of desire If we ex-

perience a longing for immortality, it is a proof we are destitute of it. The existence of such a desire, however, proves a great deal in its place. It proves immortality as a possibility in the economy of the universe." (p. 55). "Immortality (is) a state of incorruptible and deathless bodily existence, developed by resurrection, and attainable only by the righteous, at the second appearing of Jesus Christ on earth." (p. 312). "The wicked will be put out of existence for ever." (p. 313). "In order to be saved, men must . . . accept the doctrine of immortality brought to light by Christ in his death, resurrection and ascension." (p. 315). "There is no salvation apart from a belief and obedience of the Gospel. Ignorance [of "the Gospel"; *i.e.*, of *Christadelphianism*] alienates from eternal life, and makes death the certain irretrievable lot of the subject thereof." (p. 316). In short: We have no immortal souls; at our Lord's Second Coming, *some* people will receive immortality, but it will be immortality of *the body*; even this will be received by *Christadelphians only*; everyone else will be swept for ever out of existence.

Our first criticism is to repeat what was said above as to the essential invalidity of claims made by Christadelphians, since they have no logical basis for their pretensions to make any claims at all. Our second criticism is that, in any case, their logic is all wrong. The "natural aspiration, in the human breast, for immortality," is not advanced by our orthodox theologians as an argument *proving* that doctrine, but as showing the *congruity* of the doctrine: *i.e.*, that it is extremely probable and likely to be found true on other grounds. As we have seen, the Christadelphian text-book virtually admits this, for it

says: "the desire . . . proves immortality to be a possibility." Indeed, their theory of *conditional* immortality is put forward to fill the gap ; but we are forced by logic to pronounce it useless. It fails to meet the other arguments for *spiritual* immortality : *i.e.*, the radical distinction between our souls and those of brutes ; the mental faculties, in us, which prove our souls to be immaterial, and thus immortal. Theories of "bodily" immortality fail to come up to the facts of the case. Of course, the Catholic dogma, of the resurrection of the body, agrees that our bodies *will* be ultimately undying ; but that will only be when they are again informed by our spiritual souls. The mere "bodily immortality" theory fails to account for free-will, the unity and non-atomic nature of our spiritual life and consciousness, our powers of mental "abstraction," and other facts which permeate our whole existences and yet are inexplicable by any theory which limits us to *bodies*, however glorified and undying. As for "our desire proving *we are without what we desire*," this is true enough, but it does not prove that we have no souls. It merely indicates that our souls are not yet in heaven, their home. What we, as yet, lack is not souls, but the Beatific Vision of God, which is our soul's proper destiny.

The Christadelphian text-book resorts to extraordinary devices of "interpretation" in order, if possible, to square Holy Writ with its theories. For example (p. 38): "Next comes Stephen's dying prayer (*Acts vii, 59*), 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit' . . . Well, it must be remembered that Stephen looked forward to a renewing of life at the resurrection. . . . *He hoped to get his life back!*" The text, however, says "*spirit*" :

which is just what Christadelphians say that neither Stephen, nor anybody else, had or has ; and the Bible narrative plainly implies that Stephen's body died but his soul lived and went to God. We may remark that this common New Testament word for the soul (Greek, *pneuma*) is the last conceivable word for a *body*—even an undying one ! If we view the speculations of the Christadelphian text-book in relation to the New Testament's light as cast upon the Old and if we realise that the Old Testament was necessarily vague, and is to be taken *with the New*,—then we realise, also, that the theory of mere “bodily,” and “conditional,” immortality is opposed to Scripture as well as to plain reason, besides being put forward by people who have no right to put forward any doctrines at all, they having no basis for the authority of teachers.

When it comes to *the nature of God*, Christadelphianism lands us in fantasies indeed ! “The sun itself, and the whole framework of creation, is drawn round a centre. . . . Being the Source, is not He [God] the Centre of Creation ? Some shrink from the suggestion that the Deity has a located existence. Why should they ? . . . The Father is a tangible person, in whom all the powers of the universe converge.” (pp. 91-92). In short, *God is fixed to one part of space* ! This, of course, is, as thus stated, contrary both to reason and to Revelation. If God is merely a “local” being (however great), then He is limited : *i.e.*, there is something greater than He : *i.e.*, again, He is not *God* ! Moreover, if God is simply *the Centre of nature* (working, as we may mention that the Christadelphian says He does, by *electrical radiations* : His power

extending to any place only when those radiations *reach* that place !) then He is included in the *laws* of nature, and cannot (though even Christadelphianism believes He *does*) transcend them. In conclusion, we may add that the Bible is full of God's being an Infinite Spirit. " God is God in heaven above, and in the earth beneath, and there is no other " ¹ ; " The heaven, and the heaven of heavens, cannot contain Thee " ² ; " God is a Spirit, and they that adore Him must adore Him in Spirit and in truth " ³ ; " The Father of lights, with whom there is no change nor shadow of alteration " ⁴ ; " I am Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the End, who is, was, and is to come, the Almighty " ⁵ ; *cf. Apocalypse*, x, 6 ; xi, 17. All this plainly implies an infinite, spiritual Being : the antithesis of the " Big Man " God of Christadelphianism. The blunder of our Christadelphian author comes partly from his taking passages, which speak of God as in some given place, as meaning He is *there only* : (for example, he thinks ⁶ " Our Father who art *in heaven*," means He is *nowhere else* !) and partly from his taking passages, which refer to God *as our limited minds conceive of Him*, and supposing that those passages exhaust the essence of the Divine Nature as it is in itself. If however, our author had referred to such passages as *III Kings* (Protestant version, *I Kings*, viii, 32) he would have found that one of the very texts he would think to imply a " local " God, stands side by side (viii, 27) with one that shows " the heavens cannot contain Thee."

Of course, all Catholics accept the doctrine of Heaven,

¹ *Deuteronomy* iv, 39.

⁴ *James* i, 17.

² *III Kings*, viii, 27.

⁵ *Apocalypse* i, 8.

³ *John* iv, 24.

⁶ *Christendom Astray*, p. 91.

the Beatific Vision, etc. ; but that does not imply that God is *not infinite*. Our Christadelphian author has forgotten that God must *necessarily* be infinite, otherwise there would be something greater than He, and He would not be God. Our author has also confused *essence* with *manifestations*, and has thus been led actually to such fantasies as that *the Spirit of God* is “ *electricity* ” ! (p. 45).

We have no space to dwell on the Christadelphian opinions of the Catholic Church.¹ Suffice it to say that it believes Catholicism to be Antichrist, and that its arguments in favour of that idea are the familiar old extremist misunderstandings of the Apocalypse, etc. A sufficient answer is found in Newman’s *Present Position of Catholics*.

What is the Christadelphian “ ultimate hope ” ? Sanguinary wars ; an autocracy at Jerusalem ; Christ ruling as a kind Almighty Kaiser, *taxing* (in the ordinary way) all who do not obey ; then more slaughters, and a *bodily* heaven on earth as the culmination ! (pp. 150, 153, 178, 238, 240).

These fantastic theories are being propagated up and down the country by zealous “ apostles,” as the true and only Gospel of Christ ! One turns with relief to that Apostolic, Catholic, Roman Church from which the sects have parted, and apart from which they have developed absurdities such as Christadelphianism ; and one remembers the words of St. Paul : “ Keep that which is committed to thy trust, avoiding the profane novelties of words, and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called : which some promising, have erred concerning the faith.”

¹ See *Christendom Astray*, pp. 263, 265, 267, etc.

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FREEMASONRY

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FREEMASONRY

By the REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J

WHY does the Catholic Church so uncompromisingly denounce Freemasonry? The question is asked by some in honest perplexity. It is urged by others as though it were a proof of Rome's arbitrary interference with the liberty of the individual conscience. In either case the difficulty is a real one, and claims a straightforward answer.

Let us admit at once that Masonry as it appears to the majority of our fellow-countrymen is judged by public opinion to be beneficial to the community, or at any rate quite harmless. In England and America there is nothing on the surface of Freemasonry which offends the religious sense. The Bible occupies a conspicuous place in its assemblies. In all its proceedings "the Great Architect of the Universe" is invoked with demonstrations of honour and respect. The Craft enlists in its ranks men who have filled the highest offices in Church and State. Royal personages have consented to act as Grand Master, and many dignitaries of the Anglican Church discharge the functions of chaplain. Taken as a whole, it is in this country essentially a conservative institution making for law and order. It also maintains many charities of its own, and it often subscribes generously to other works of philanthropy and public utility.

What is more, we have it on the unimpeachable testimony of a distinguished convert to Catholicism (the late Marquis of Ripon, Cabinet Minister and subsequently Viceroy of India), who after filling many subordinate offices in the Craft had been elected to the dignity of English Grand Master, that never, during the whole time that he was a mason, did he hear a word or expression which he considered to be in any way directed either against throne or altar.

Nor is English Freemasonry satisfied with doing no evil itself and with holding aloof from all anti-religious movements elsewhere. When the French and Italian lodges in the year 1878 disclaimed any official recognition of the Deity, the English Grand Master, on the part of the English lodges, not only protested against such action, but severed their connexion with the Grand Orient altogether, so as to secure themselves against being held responsible for any future developments of the same character. Down to the present day, this excommunication, now forty-three years old, has not been rescinded.

It is right that we should attach due weight to all such considerations as the foregoing. They certainly show that what we may conveniently classify as "Anglo-Saxon" Freemasonry on the one hand, and "Latin" Freemasonry on the other, should on no account be confused. Loyal sons of the Catholic Church, however staunch in their allegiance to the Holy See, will regard with very different eyes the members of organizations so widely divergent in spirit. We may rejoice moreover that, numerically considered, it is the Anglo-Saxon type of Freemasonry which by an immense majority preponderates in the world at present. A painstaking and very well-informed student of the subject has recently computed that out of a total of some two million Master M^asons, ninety per cent are domiciled in English-speaking countries and may be roughly classified as belonging to the Anglo-Saxon group. Another four per cent are Germans and Scandinavians and form a category of their own, while the Latin group (i.e. those belonging to France, Belgium, Italy, and the Spanish-speaking territories) can claim no more than the remaining six per cent.¹ The same writer sums up aptly enough the characteristics of the different groups in the following words :

¹ I refer to a series of three articles by the Rev. John M. Cooper, published in the (American) *Ecclesiastical Review* for June, July and August, 1917, on the occasion of the Bicentenary of the birth of Freemasonry. I am greatly indebted to Father Cooper for furnishing me with a carefully revised reprint of these articles, the sober and conscientious character of which will be apparent to every reader, and for kindly giving me permission to make use of them in the present pamphlet.

“ Speaking broadly, the most militant group, the Latin, is frankly political, anti-clerical, and to a large extent anti-religious ; the less militant Germanic group is largely anti-clerical, but is neither political nor anti-religious ; the least militant group, the Anglo-Saxon, lays stress on belief in God and is neither political nor distinctly anti-clerical. I say ‘ broadly speaking,’ for these distinctions need, as we shall see, to be qualified considerably.”

As may be inferred from this appreciation, the absence of “ militancy ” on the part of the Anglo-Saxon Masons tends very much to neutralize their numerical preponderance. The really energizing force that takes Freemasonry seriously is that of the Latin branch. In England and America the vast majority of the fraternity are just “ lodge members ” and nothing more. They join for social, professional, or convivial reasons. They accept the ritual and the symbolism as a rather entertaining masquerade without any serious purpose. They do not give a moment’s thought to Masonic philosophy, and, as the same writer says, they would probably be amused at being supposed to adhere either to rationalism or any other “ ism.” It is intelligible enough that such inoffensive and well-meaning people should feel a certain resentment at being made the object of papal denunciations and at being classed with the avowed enemies of religion and social order.

But while making all allowances for such considerations as the foregoing, it seems to me that very sufficient reasons can be assigned for the Holy See’s persistent censure. For clearness’ sake it may be well to arrange the present vindication under three separate headings, and I therefore propose to show : first, that Pope Clement XII. when in 1738 he condemned the new organization, had abundant grounds for the action which he took ; secondly, that in the light of subsequent events during the eighteenth and following centuries the soundness of his judgement has been strikingly confirmed ; thirdly, that nothing has happened since then which could lead, or indeed permit, the Holy See to modify the attitude which it assumed from the beginning.

I

Freemasonry (that is "speculative" Masonry, as opposed to the older societies of stone-workers, now commonly called "operative" Masonry) was first organized in London by the foundation of the Grand Lodge in 1717. Its constitutions, its ritual, its extravagant oath of secrecy, its fantastic appeal to a tradition going back to the age of Noah, were there in substance from the first, and they remain very much the same at the present day. Twenty-one years later Clement XII. published the Bull *In eminenti* condemning the Masonic societies and excommunicating those Catholics who in defiance of his prohibition took any further part in their proceedings. This papal action is the more noteworthy because among the prominent Masons of these early years not a few were Catholics—at least they professed to be such. Philip, Duke of Wharton, Grand Master in 1722, and Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Grand Master in 1729, were both adherents of the old religion; similarly Charles Radcliffe, Earl of Derwentwater, and Andrew Ramsay (the "Chevalier Ramsy," converted by Fénelon), two of the most prominent figures in the early history of French Freemasonry, seem to have been sincere in their allegiance to the Church. Moreover, many of the masons of that date were Jacobites, and it might have been thought that while the Pretender himself was actually resident in Rome, his cause would have had the Pontiff's sympathy. Nevertheless, Clement unequivocally condemned Freemasonry; and though his Constitution does not go into much detail, it indicates clearly enough his two main grounds of objection, vital flaws which remain inherent in the system down to the present day. The first is that Masonry tends to undermine belief in Catholic Christianity by substituting for it what is practically a rival religion based on deistic or naturalistic principles. The second is that the solemn oath of secrecy, with the gruesome and fantastic penalties for its violation which even the apprentice invokes upon himself, is unjustifiable in fact and immoral in principle. Upon both these headings a few words must be said.

A. Whether Freemasonry can or cannot properly be styled a religion is a point which has been much debated among members of the Craft. Many affirm that it can and ought to be so regarded. All admit that its basis is religious and that it furnishes its members with a philosophy of life. From the first it has made a display of symbolism and ritual, it has its temples and its altars, its creed and ethical code. For those who take it seriously, it is even now to all intents and purposes a religion, but a religion which ignores Jesus Christ and has markedly rationalistic tendencies. Now let us note that in the time of Clement XII the Deism which we identify with the names of Bolingbroke, Toland, Matthew Tindal, and others, loomed everywhere very large, and most of all in those would-be-intellectual circles of England, France and Italy, among which Freemasonry was enlisting its recruits. Clement had the gravest reason for being suspicious of this naturalistic counterfeit of religion, shrouded as it was in mystery and protected by blood-curdling oaths. Even in our day the question is debated among Masons themselves how far the philosophy of the Craft owed its inspiration to Deism. Writers like Findel and F. A. Lange maintain that it was so begotten; others deny it. We may perhaps accept Father Cooper's conclusion that "early English Masonry, while not exactly the direct offspring of Deism, was largely inspired by contemporary rationalism. . . . It did not exclude the deist from its ranks, but aimed rather at gathering into one fold deist, Christian rationalist and conservative Christian." Be this as it may, Pope Clement was fully justified in regarding the new movement as an insidious attack on orthodoxy. Hettner, a non-Catholic writer, frankly applauds the Pontiff's perspicacity: "The Papal See," he writes, "with the keen insight particularly characteristic of it in ecclesiastical and political matters, perceived in the clearest manner the inmost essence of Freemasonry. The Papacy banned it as early as 1738, and expressly on the ground that the order was based not on ecclesiastical but on purely human foundations, *affectata quadam contenti honestatis naturalis specie*, as the Papal Bull put it—i.e. the organizers were content with a certain artificial

show of what was natural and decent.”¹ The situation which the Pope envisaged seems to have been not unlike that which we have recently seen created for the ministrations of the Church of England by the superior popularity of the Y.M.C.A. But Clement at any rate perceived the danger in time.

B. But let us turn to the Pontiff's second objection. In our days Masonry is no novelty. It has made a position for itself simply by its numbers, its social influence and its continued existence for two centuries. It has acquired in some sense a prescriptive right to civil toleration. Possibly we are inclined to underrate its dangers because we have learned to look on it as “the devil we know.” Clement XII in 1738 could have seen little more than its potentialities: to him it was “the devil he did not know.” He was confronted by a new and rapidly spreading organization, already looked at askance by republican governments and vehemently suspected of complicity in a propaganda of Deism and rationalism. Its aims, constitutions, proceedings and ritual were veiled in the profoundest secrecy and protected by unheard-of oaths. “Every one that doeth evil hateth the light,” says our Lord, “and cometh not to the light, that his work may not be reproved.” With an obvious reference to this text the Pope says of the Masons *nisi enim male agerent tanto nequaquam odio lucem haberent*—that is to say that “if they were not practising evil they would not assuredly detest the light of day so much.” Though he does not develop the theme at length, it is plain that he strongly reprobates the solemn oath “confirmed with the extravagance of grievous penalties” by which the fraternity “are required to shroud their proceedings under an inviolable silence.” That oath still remains an integral part of the system of Freemasonry; indeed, it is renewed in varying forms in the initiation ceremony of each successive degree. Through Clement XII's constitution and the Bulls of many subsequent Pontiffs the Church pronounces such an

¹ H. Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, I, 215 (1894). Hettner goes on to remark that the slashing attack on Freemasonry of the Lutheran Hengstenberg was only a development of what the Pope had said a century and a half earlier.

oath to be immoral in principle. It is imposed by an authority which has no adequate sanction, differing in that respect from the oath exacted, for example, by a magistrate, a judge or an ecclesiastical superior, who are in their varying degrees the representatives of the commonwealth or of God. Again, the scope of the oath regards either secrets that are nowadays no secrets at all or else secrets which are criminal and contrary to public polity. Thirdly, the manner of the oath-taking is irreverent and in the extravagance of the penalties invoked it borders on the blasphemous. Fourthly, by the form used the Mason may be said to pledge himself blindly to anything and everything, he knows not rightly what. He signs a blank cheque which is left for others to fill in, and though the English apprentice is told beforehand that nothing will be required of him contrary to his allegiance, his country or his conscience, such assurance is worth little when it comes from those whose views on moral questions may be very different from his own. In this way Freemasonry disregards almost every condition demanded for the just and reverent taking of an oath. In fact the whole procedure, as Father Grüber remarks, amounts to "an abuse contrary to public order, which require that solemn oaths and pledges, as the principal means to maintain veracity and faithfulness in the state and in human society, should not be cheapened or caricatured."¹

II

That Pope Clement XII was justified in his condemnation of Freemasonry and other secret societies is fully proved by the course of subsequent events, but notably by the share taken by the secret societies in bringing about the French Revolution. The same may in fact be said of nearly all modern social convulsions down to the intrigues of the Young Turk party and the Bolshevist outbreak of these last years. To deal with these points in detail is impossible in a slight pamphlet like the present : a few illustrative quotations must suffice, together with an

¹ *The Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. ix, p. 787 ; cf. p. 780.

indication of one or two sources from which fuller information may be obtained. With regard to the eighteenth century generally, an impartial article on Free-Thought in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (vol. vi, p. 122) speaks as follows—the author is Dr. Troeltsch, Professor of Theology at Heidelberg :

“ Here then [i.e. in the realization of the need to organize] we have the explanation of the fact that the eighteenth century was crowded with secret societies and free-thought unions, the secrecy being resorted to partly as a protection against the power of the State Church and partly as a means of drawing the masses, or, as it might be, of outrivalling the attractions of Church life. . . . The most outstanding example is found in Freemasonry . . . which now pervades the civilized world. Freemasonry created a sacred symbolism and ritual of its own, as also a sacred mythical history, and thus actually forms a kind of rival to the Church. . . . In Romanic [i.e. Latin] countries it has become an organization working aggressively against Catholicism.”

In other words, the Lutheran Professor, writing in 1913, says exactly what Pope Clement said in 1738 at the very beginning of the movement. The most elementary realization of his duty as chief shepherd must have constrained the Pontiff to protect the flock committed to his care against an attack so insidious in its methods.

Similarly one of the most distinguished scientists of the period of the French Revolution, Professor John Robison, of Edinburgh, himself a Mason of the more moderate English type, was so scandalized by the violence and unprincipled schemes of his brethren on the Continent that he published a stout volume in protest.¹ He declared that “the real intention of their leaders was to abolish all religion, overturn every government, and make the world a general plunder and wreck.” And Mrs. N. Webster, who quotes this in her recent valuable study of the French Revolution, adds on the authority of Ch. d’Héricault that “it was in a great meeting of the

¹ *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe*, fourth edition, 1798. In this he says, for example : “ In every quarter of Europe where Freemasonry has been established

Freemasons in Frankfurt-on-Main, three years before the revolution began, that the death of Louis XVI and of Gustavus III of Sweden was first planned.”¹ I may further note that Professor Robison, who had himself some years previously attended meetings of the lodges in Belgium, Germany and France, came in the end to this startling conclusion: “Not only are secret societies dangerous, but all societies whose object is mysterious. The whole history of man is a proof of this position. In no age or country has there ever appeared a mysterious association which did not in time become a public nuisance.”² Once again Pope Clement’s judgement is completely confirmed but one cannot read a dozen pages of the Scottish Professor’s work without discovering that at the same time he held no brief for either Rome or the Papacy.

There are numberless examples that might be quoted of the pernicious activities of Continental Masonry since the days of Professor Robison. I select as a single illustration the scandal of the *fiches* (index slips) in 1905, in the course of which it was proved by irresistible evidence that the whole French army was then involved in an immense network of espionage organized by the lodges: “Any officer who was known to cherish religious convictions, whose children were being educated in a denominational school, or whose wife attended Mass, was made the subject of an index slip drawn up by the local Masonic Lodge and confidentially despatched to the War Office at that time almost entirely staffed by Freemasons.”³ The slips formed a register, and such unfortunate officers as had the ill-luck to figure in this black book might say good-bye to all hopes of promotion, no matter what their military capacity. The scathing article on this subject which was

the Lodges have become hotbeds of public mischief” (p. 456). Or again: “Freemasonry has been abused and at last totally perverted, and so will and must any such secret association as long as men are licentious in their opinions or wicked in their dispositions” (p. 466).

¹ Nesta Webster, *The French Revolution*, p. 21.

² *Proofs, etc.*, p. 466.

³ F. Brenier in *The Oxford and Cambridge Review*, May, 1912, p. 168.

contributed by Canon William Barry to the *National Review* (July, 1905) has been reprinted as a pamphlet by the Catholic Truth Society. But this was only one incident in a long campaign carried on as unscrupulously in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Belgium and South America as it was in France.¹ For fuller justification of the whole of this section the reader may be referred to Father Grüber's admirable article on "Masonry" in the *Catholic Encyclopædia* (vol. ix, pp. 771-788); the full bibliography there given supplies a key to the general literature of the subject. The book of Dr. Arthur Preuss, *A Study of American Freemasonry*, though its standpoint is rather extreme, also contains much useful material.

III

But, it may be urged, all this has nothing to do with Masonry as we know it in England and America. The English brotherhood has excommunicated the Grand Orient and it is a commonplace among the representatives of the Craft in this country to declare that the Grand Orient Freemasons are no Freemasons at all.² Much as we all should like to show appreciation of the non-political, unsectarian and generally tolerant spirit of Anglo-Saxon Masonry, the objection to the system as a system, to its principles as opposed to its local practice, cannot be disposed of quite so easily. The semi-religious character of the institution remains unchanged, the oaths of secrecy have not in any way been modified; while the more active and representative Masons by no means regard these features as meaningless anachronisms, but take the whole machinery very seriously indeed. Although the predominance of mere "lodge members" as opposed to convinced believers has given to the Anglo-Saxon group a non-militant character, all that we are justified in inferring is that in this country the virus inherent in the

¹ See the series of articles published in *The Oxford and Cambridge Review*, May, 1912, and following months, under the title "Freemasonry versus Christianity."

² See, to take one example among many, J. G. Gibson, *The Masonic Problem* (1912), p. 135.

system remains for the most part latent and undeveloped, not that it has been eradicated. What is more, though the repudiation of the Grand Orient lodges has so far been persisted in, the result has not been that there is any great gulf fixed between Anglo-Saxon and Latin Masonry, as the uninitiated reader might rashly be disposed to imagine. I have not troubled here to take any account of the various Masonic rites—Royal Arch, ancient and accepted Scottish rite, the mark Grand Lodge, etc.—but the confusion resulting from this source and from the absence of any supreme international control provides the means for indirect fraternization even when regular communications are broken off.¹ For example, in 1909, eight German Grand Lodges re-established official friendly relations with the Grand Orient of France, but there was not on that account any formal breach created between these same German lodges and the English Grand Lodge. One has only to glance from time to time at the articles in the leading organs of the Craft in England and America to learn that the Masons of the Latin countries of Europe are still in the bulk regarded as brothers and indeed as working for a common end. The famous American, Albert Pike, who in his lifetime was often spoken of as “the greatest Freemason of the nineteenth century,” the “Prophet of Freemasonry,” etc., etc., wrote quite frankly about the solidarity of the brethren of the Craft throughout the world, despite the ban resting on the Grand Orient. When a certain journal in 1805, he said, “protested that English Freemasonry was innocent of the charges preferred by Pope Leo XIII.’s Bull against Freemasonry, when it declared that English Freemasonry had no opinions political or religious, and that it did not in the least degree sympathize with the loose opinions and extravagant utterances of part of Continental Masonry, it was very justly and very conclusively checkmated by the Romish organs with the reply: ‘It is idle for you to protest. You are Freemasons and you recognize them as Freemasons.’” Obviously Brother Pike himself did accept a measure of

¹ A very instructive illustration of this is quoted in the Appendix to Preuss, *Study in American Freemasonry*, pp. 413-426.

responsibility for the activities of the Grand Orient, and yet his influence among his fellow American Masons both then and subsequently can hardly be exaggerated. The fact is that even in England, and still more in the United States, there is an important and active section of the Masonic fraternity who openly sympathize with the anti-religious activities of their Continental brethren. Any reader of the Masonic journals will notice that tentative efforts are constantly being made to ventilate the question of reunion with the Grand Orient. Who can say when this agitation may be crowned with success? While such Masonic writers as Pike, J. C. Buck, and F. Armitage retain their influence, it would be idle to pretend that Anglo-Saxon Freemasonry has ever given or indeed can give any guarantee that its present official recognition of the Deity (slender and ambiguous as it is) will be maintained intact. Still less is any assurance possible that the English branch will continue faithful to its policy of eschewing politics and anti-religious propaganda. The organization of Freemasonry still remains a powerful engine, which, with its acceptance of the principle of a secret esoteric doctrine and direction, is peculiarly liable at any time to be captured by a group of unprincipled extremists and to be made the tool of their underground activities. Nothing assuredly has happened in recent years which would warrant the Holy See in revoking the condemnation long ago so wisely passed upon the deistic spirit of Masonry and upon its unjustifiable oaths of secrecy.

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THE MASS¹

BY B. F. C. COSTELLOE, M.A.

THE man who proposes to discuss "The Mass" with an agnostic audience may fairly be charged with temerity, for there is not one of the institutions of the world which has been so great a stumbling-block to the majority of modern Englishmen as the great historic and spiritual fact which is the subject of this address.

I have chosen it for two converse reasons. To all Catholics it is, and has been since Christianity began, the very heart and centre of the spiritual life. To the average Englishman it must long have seemed to be a relic of barbarism and a psychological enigma. The very name of the "Mass" has been for centuries a byword in this land, connoting to the unheeding generations only an exploded superstition and an aimless mummary.

In our own time, since Protestantism of the original type has begun to give way before the advance of a more consistent unbelief, the great names and uses of the Church have not been visited with so much obloquy—perhaps, with some, because they have been relegated to a deeper contempt. Yet I dare to hold and say that what lack there is about us of sympathy, of respect, nay of belief, is in the main the outcome, not of an evil will, but of a lack of opportunity; and for that reason I make bold to

¹ An address delivered at South Place Institute, March, 1889, before a non-Catholic audience.

try if at least some poor beginning may be made, by setting forth the Catholic beliefs in language less strange to your own habits of thought than is the common language of our books of doctrine or devotion.

That the task is beyond me, I know only too well. I have neither the knowledge nor the spiritual insight, neither the preparatory training nor the official authority, which that man must have who would state the truths of God to this hurrying generation. Yet there lies on all of us a duty, when occasion comes, to do our little spell of work in building up the roads of truth. In the day of beginnings we may be able to do little ; but if we do our little work, in God's own time " that prophet " shall arise. London is not more proud of the swift advance of culture than was Florence in its new birth of knowledge and triumphant art ; yet Savonarola led Florence captive, in the power of God. London is not half so hopeless of Christianity, not half so sunk in the mad endeavour to fill up the void of the spirit with the sweet things of the flesh, as was the Paris of fifty years ago ; and yet all Paris was swept into reverent attention by the voice of Lacordaire. Pray with me, my friends, if you still pray, that God may send His prophet unto us also—if it be but as one crying in the wilderness—that after all the long confusion the way of the Lord may be made straight again.

I have said that to the majority of the English people the Mass is a byword ; and yet there is a large and important section of them who have been drifting steadily towards all forms of Catholic usage and belief. You who are not of them may mix but little among them ; but if any man would reckon with the currents of the time, he cannot overlook the startling growth of a pro-Catholic party in England. I do not mean the mere trifles in ecclesiastical fancy-work ! I mean those capable and earnest men who speak of sacramental, of Eucharistic doctrine, in terms an outsider could not easily

distinguish from our own. The fact has its significance, even for the world of unbelief. If you count those who, since Newman, have joined the Church outright, with those who have come so close to it that for this purpose they are our allies, you will find that there is a Catholic school of thought among you which may well claim a respectful hearing. Men who are eminent in politics ought to be no bad judges of a thing so human as religious tendencies ; and it is a curious fact that the actual chiefs of both the political parties are earnest and avowed believers in almost all that I shall have to state to you to-day as the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharistic office.

Such things do not begin to prove that our belief is true ; but they do prove that it is not incredible.

How shall a man begin to speak of it ? To us of the family of the faith it is a fact so familiar, so closely woven in with all we know of God and of the spiritual experience, that we hardly put it into words. You may haunt our ceremonies and know our printed prayers by heart, yet if you do not bring to them some kind of Catholic sense, you may find but the tinkling cymbal and the sounding brass. In the first ages it was pre-eminently “ the secret ”—that fact of the new life so holy, so beloved, that no profane eye should see ‘it, and that none but they who were prepared to love it should even know the mystery. We have fallen far, in these easy times, below the fervour of their devotion ; yet in one sense the same is true of us. To-day, as then—in this city, as in the catacombs—it is the secret of holy souls, the guarded heart of fire in many a commonplace, unnoticed life. Outwardly it may often seem a trivial thing, with tinkling bells and inartistic ornament ; but equally in the silence and the song, in the poverty and in the pride, it is the tense communion of our myriads of souls, each for itself and in its own way, with the hidden presence of the Lord.

The Mass is the one essential act of public worship of the Church. Combining the new idea of a sacra-

ment with the old tradition of a sacrifice, it is in truth a hundred things in one—as complete in its real adaptation to every private need as it is rigid in its ritual adherence to the historic liturgy. But above and before all else, it is the commemoration of the death of Christ, and of that Last Supper when He left this ordinance to His disciples, as a momentous legacy and a last command.

There are two linked beliefs relating to that Last Supper, which must be borne in mind by every one who would approach in any honest way the consideration of the Mass. They are the belief that Christ then revealed a sacramental doctrine of the Eucharist, and the belief that He then founded by His recorded words and deeds an ordinance since followed in the liturgies of the Church. The vindication of these propositions involves, of course, all Catholicism ; the testimony and value of the New Testament, the question of the person and office of Christ, the reality of any religion, the personality of God. The Catholic view of the world hangs together ; you must take it or reject it as a whole. It is, as I have already sought to show you,¹ the only consistent Christianity—the only escape from the quicksands of private interpretation and the deep sea of sceptical suspense ; and the proof or disproof of this claim is the ultimate question. For the present, however, I take it that the chief desire of my audience is *to know what we mean* ; and therefore I say that, for the apprehension of our meaning, you must first realize that we do in truth believe in the reality and significance of the world-historic scene in that Upper Room, and that we find in it the key to and the warrant for the office of the Mass. I think that unbiassed readers will probably agree with us that, if the words recorded were said at all, their sense is not really doubtful. They certainly were not understood in any but the one way, either by the Apostles or their immediate pupils, or by

¹ See earlier lecture on *The Church Catholic* also issued by the Catholic Truth Society (2d.).

the ages of the Church, or even by the countless heresies, until Luther and his friends went a-hunting for new interpretations.

Recall for a moment the familiar story. The strange sending of Peter and John to claim the room "because the Master's time was near at hand"; the keeping of their last Passover, with all that it implied to them as the central office of the Jewish system, in which the lamb was slain in token of the saving of Israel out of the land of bondage in the early days; the memory in their minds of His repeated prophecies that He would leave them soon, and of that recent scene when the healer of Lazarus rode into Jerusalem, amid the hosannas of the people waving triumphal palms; the sudden shock when Jesus girt Himself with a towel and began to wash the feet of all the Twelve, that, as He said, they might be "wholly clean" for some great event to come; the high words of commission that followed, "I say unto you, he that receiveth whomsoever I send, receiveth Me, and he that receiveth Me, receiveth Him that sent Me"; and then the culminating words of institution—concurrently recorded with due care in the three synoptic Gospels, too well known to be repeated in the fourth, but amply witnessed by the Apostolic writings and by the unbroken tradition of the Liturgies—when (having said, "With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer") "He took bread, and giving thanks He brake it (εὐχαριστήσας ἐκλάσσε), and gave unto them, saying, Take and eat: This is My Body which is given for you. This do in commemoration of Me" (St. Luke xxii. 19; St. Matt. xxvi. 26; 1 Cor. xi. 24).

You will know that for the "*Do this*" He uses a word appropriate to a sacrificial act: "Do this office, perform this rite, in memory of Me." You will notice also, that when He identifies the Eucharistic Bread with His Body, He is careful according to all the MSS. to use the present tense, "My Body

which is even now being broken," and "being given over to death," for you.

These were strange sayings, either senseless or supernatural. But the hearers understood. For they remembered that preliminary lesson which John has recorded in his sixth chapter, for the confirming of this very teaching in a later time, when much was in danger of being forgotten or misbelieved. They remembered—how could they forget it?—when to those cavillers who asked for such a sign as was the manna to their fathers, He replied, "*I am the Bread of Life,*" "*The bread I will give is My flesh.*" The hearers had cried out, "How can this man—this carpenter's son—give us His flesh to eat?" But His words beat down on them again—royal, imperative, unyielding. "I say to you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, ye have no life in you. . . . *He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him.*" And now not the Jews only, but almost all His followers, rebelled. "It is a hard saying—who can hear it?" "How can we eat His flesh?" Did He retract, or soften, or explain? Nay; but as He had begun by telling them the work of God was to *believe* Him whom He had sent, so now, in this crisis of their faith, He asked only for belief again. And many—all but the Twelve, it seems—went back and walked with Him no more. Did He say, "Ye have taken a parable too literally?" Did He offer a hidden meaning? He only turned sadly, half wearily, to His Twelve and said, "Will ye too go away?" And Peter answered—not, "It is easy"; not, "We understand"; but with a cry of faith, confident through all strange teaching, even as are we to-day, that His message was divine—"Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."

I have said that the writer of the fourth Gospel omits all the words of institution, these being in his day the common knowledge, probably even the settled liturgy, of the Church. But the vast importance which he attaches to the fact is made all the

more clear by the wonderful sermon, burning with the Divine Love, and instinct with the idea of the Divine Communion as the root of all the holiness of that new life, which, like the earlier lesson, he alone reports. He wrote somewhere about A.D. 100, long after the story of the Synoptics and the writings of St. Paul were current in the churches. And it is important to notice that the same connection between the idea of the Eucharist, with its sacramental communion, and the idea of the unity of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, wherein Christ's life and love must needs be indwelling, had been also worked out in many significant forms by the Pauline Epistles.

It is not possible to detail within any reasonable limits the great number of indications to be found in the New Testament as to the continuance by the earliest followers of Christ of a commemorative rite, in which this "giving of thanks" at the "breaking of the bread" was repeated in an evidently sacramental sense, and as an act of public worship. There is a hint of it even in the story of Emmaus.¹ But immediately after Pentecost we are told that the converts "continued steadfast in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in the breaking of bread, and the prayers"—where no doubt this "breaking of bread" is a distinctive observance of the Christians and their προσευχῇ a known rite. A little later, their action is described by saying that they "continued daily with one accord in the Temple" (at their public resort in Solomon's Porch), and "breaking bread from house to house," as each provided that "upper room" in which they loved to commemorate the Supper of the Lord. In the later Acts there is a more explicit notice of this same observance, as of a public gathering for worship, in the account, plainly given by a fellow-traveller and eye-witness of St. Paul's

¹ The Church of the Catacombs used the last scene in St. John's Gospel (xxi. 13) as a Eucharistic symbol, as early as A.D. 200; whether the figurative reference (see St. Augustine *ad loc.*) was as old as the Gospel itself or no, we cannot now say.

visit to the important community at Troas. The writer gives us a graphic picture of the upper chamber, with its many lights. He says that on the first day of the week, when the disciples "came together for the breaking of bread" (apparently now a technical phrase), Paul preached to them, and, intending to depart on the morrow, he continued his discourse till midnight. Then, after describing the accident and the healing which was the occasion of the narrative, he goes straight on—"And having come up again, and having broken bread and eaten, and having conversed with them till the dawn, Paul departed." The impartial reader of this narrative who knows anything of the other evidences concerning the early Church, will see at once that this was a public Sunday service in commemoration of the Supper of the Lord; and that the "breaking of bread" was the characteristic central act, to which St. Paul's sermon was leading up, and which, after the startling interruption, he completed in due form.

It is not possible to escape from the clear meaning as a matter of history (setting aside the question of inspiration) of certain passages of the Epistles, such as chapters x. and xi. of the first letter to the Corinthians, admittedly one of the earliest documents of the Church. It is a sermon against certain laxities, first as to the temple meats, and then as to the misuse of the "Agape"—the Love-Feast which was combined, as is well known, with the special celebration of the Supper. The whole passage is charged with forms of expression and turns of thought which evidently refer to the sacramental conception of the Mass as we hold it now. After recalling those types of the sacraments of Christianity which he found in the history of his own people, Paul tells his followers, as the very reason why they may not be partakers of the table of the heathen gods, that they are already partakers of "that one Bread"—"The bread which we break," as he calls it—"which is the communion of the Body of Christ." That "Bread" is *their* sacred sacrifice,

and if they hold that communion so lightly as to join in feasts where the things sacrificed to Aphrodite and the rest are eaten, they insult the Lord. In the eleventh chapter he is still more explicit. His warrant for condemning such unseemly things as happened when they "came together for the eating of the Lord's supper," is no other, he tells them, than the *very words* of Christ's institution, which he repeats in full. "I have received of the Lord that which I delivered unto you, that the same night in which He was betrayed He took bread, and when He had given thanks, He brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is My Body, which is broken for you : this do in remembrance of Me." He tells them in plain words that "as often as they eat this bread and drink this cup, they are showing forth the death of the Lord," and he warns them that if they take part therein "unworthily"—if each man does not first prove, examine, assay himself, to see that he is wholly clean from grave offence, and "so eat that bread"—then they shall be "guilty of the Body and Blood of the Lord," and it shall bring the uttermost judgments upon them.

I can only indicate this Pauline argument, but every line and word of it strengthens the conclusion that he is referring to an Apostolic archetype of our office of the Mass, and to nothing else. Less distinctly, but with equal truth, the same thing may be said of the argument of the unique Epistle to the Hebrews, of which the keynote is the insistence on the "priesthood according to the order of Melchisedek," who offered the bread and wine.¹ I venture to affirm that if there were no other historic basis for the Mass than that which we find within the canon of the New Testament, it would be enough. We do not find any direct account of the liturgical form. The texts we have do not deal with such matters. Yet, even as to

¹ For the early acceptance of this as a sacramental analogy, see also Clement, *Strom.* iv. 25 ; and note the reference to the sacrifice of Melchisedek, Abraham, and Abel in the Canon of the Mass.

this, there is in the same passage of the Corinthians a significant phrase. The gravest abuses they will themselves, he is confident, put away; "the rest," he adds, "I will myself *put in order* when I come." He will regulate, he means, the manner of their observance, that all things may be done, as Clement put it, "decently and in order." We cannot, in the face of the surrounding evidence, doubt that such a settled order did arise. There is thought to be further reference to it in the second chapter of the letters to Timothy (where the names of the different kinds of prayer and the whole context seem to demand such an explanation), and in parts of the Apocalypse.¹ It has even been plausibly maintained by one of the best English scholars that 1 Cor. ii. 9 is a quotation from the Apostolic Liturgy itself.

In my former address,² when I could not foresee that I should be asked to deliver a special lecture on "The Mass," I referred to some part of the further evidence for the Apostolic character of the institution as a whole, which is afforded by a comparison of the most ancient variants of the Liturgy among themselves, and by the concurrent testimony of the earliest writings, Christian or Pagan, which deal with the matter. Before I revert to that branch

¹ The framework of the splendid vision in chapters iv. and v. is evident to those who know the ritual of the days of the Catacombs. The Bishop sat on a "throne," a great chair in the centre facing the people, with the altar-table before him, whereon lay in the Mass "the Lamb that was slain." The attendant priests sat on either side—twelve, and twelve would be a natural arrangement. In the early part of the office they sang a Hymn of Praise, and brought the book of the Gospels with special solemnity to the Bishop. Later on (after the Preface) they sang a Triumphal Hymn—which may well have been in the very words of Apoc. v. 12-13. Afterwards, at the Elevation, they fell down and worshipped "the Lamb"; and at the Communion all the people said "Amen." Even the white cloaks (*ιματία*) of the twenty-four *πρεσβυτέροι* and the lighted lamps, and the "golden goblets full of incense," and the music are probably all derived from the contemporary ritual.

² *The Church Catholic.*

of the subject now, it will be well that I should try to state to you in a few words what the office of the Mass in fact contains.

The Liturgies, in spite of wide apparent variation, proceed upon a scheme which is common to them all; and in describing that, I shall be describing with sufficient accuracy the Mass which is celebrated in every Catholic church to-day. It consists, if we reduce the Liturgies to what I may call their simplest terms, of the actual Commemoration called the "Canon of the Mass," preceded by a double introduction, of which the first part is known as the "Mass of the Catechumens," as distinguished from the "Mass of the Faithful." The central and essential rite was called the Canon because of its close adherence to a "fixed rule." It is in its tenor, and even in much of its diction, alike in all the varying Liturgies. The other sections, being far less important, were to a much greater extent subject to the discretion of bishops, and have undergone local variation and substitution, though even in them we find a wonderful conformity.

The Office of the Catechumens (called "Missa" because it ended in their dismissal) was a public service, not especially eucharistic in its character, but founded for the most part upon the Sabbath service of the Synagogue. It begins now with the "Introit"—the Solemn Entrance of the officiating bishop or priest with his attendants, who chant an introductory psalm. Then come certain very ancient hymns. In the West, we have that triple cry for mercy called the "Kyrie Eleison," and the "Gloria," or Hymn of the Nativity, at first peculiar to Christmas Day (so used before A.D. 139, as it is said), and then extended to ordinary Sundays. In the East, you have the equally ancient "Trisagion." Next come the public prayers named "Collects" in the West and *συνάπτη* in the East—the "gathered up" petitions of the Church. These are variable in every Western use, according to the day. Then are read portions of the Scripture—an Epistle or Lesson

symbolic of the Old Law, and the Gospel setting forth the New. Between these, as the procession carrying with joy the Sacred Book passes along the steps of the altar, a processional chant called a "Tract," "Sequence," or "Gradual" is sung; and this is the origin of many of those great Latin hymns that all churches borrow. After the Reading comes the Sermon,¹ upon the close of which the Catechumens were dismissed, and the "Mass of the Faithful" began. That was, of course, the "*mysterium*" which the Romans of the third century traduced and jested at—the rite at which the "initiated" only might be present.

The secondary introduction has undergone more outward change than any other part of the service. So far as we have gone, there is a distinct parallelism between all the Liturgies of the East and West. Every Church had leave to add and modify to some extent, yet we can discern the clear outlines of an original common plan, the very simplicity of which argues for its antiquity. The Solemn Entrance, the Traditional Hymns, the Collective Prayers, the First Lesson, the Procession of the Book and the Reading of the Gospel, the Expository Sermon, and then the Dismissal of the Uninstructed—what could be a more natural rite?

In the following section there is still a correspondence, though the original scheme, developed apparently out of the ritual of the Passover, has become obscured by frequent transpositions. It probably began with the bringing in of the bread and wine,²

¹ So in the Synagogue there were two readings, from "the Law" and "the Prophets," and a sermon thereon (Acts xiii. 14. 15). The Pauline Epistles are written to be so read: see 1 Thess. v. 27; Col. iv. 16, etc. The form was no doubt continued because Christ used it to "preach the gospel" (St. Matt. iv. 23; St. Luke iv. 16-21; St. John vi. 45, 59, etc.). It is well established that in all early Liturgies there used to be an Old Testament Lesson or Lessons before the Epistle and Gospel.

² The coincidence with this act of an "offertory" of charitable gifts by the faithful present is as old as the Roman persecution. This usage is probably the explanation of the suggestion in 1 Cor. xvi. 2.

which the people of the first age presented, in what we still call the "Offertory," at the altar. With this was combined, in later times, the chanting of the Creed. This, the public profession of faith by the baptized Christians, is a common use in all the Churches since the dogmatic struggles of the fourth century. The present form dates, as we all know, from A.D. 325, but it is understood that some simple *regula fidei* was an original part of the Mass, and that some Creed was always administered to the Catechumens when they were admitted to the Eucharist for the first time. After the Offertory—which is now only a short extract from the Psalms—follows the preparation by the priest of the vessels he is about to use in the Canon. This is closed by the public washing of his hands, at the psalm "Lavabo," in remembrance of Christ's action before the Supper. How old even the bare ceremonial is may be gathered from the fact that this very rite is accurately described in 347 by Cyril of Jerusalem, and is explained by him, as by us to-day, as a symbol of the purity requisite for the performance of the act that is to follow. Then after certain variable prayers similar to collects, which are said in a low voice and therefore called "Secreta," we reach that which has always been known as the "Preface" of the Commemoration itself. There is, however, another observance I should first mention, though it comes much later in the Roman ritual. That is the "Kiss of Peace," which was anciently exchanged by all the faithful in token of reconciliation, before they should "offer their gift at the altar," as Cyril says. In his use it followed the Lavabo—in others it followed or preceded the Offertory—in ours it is exchanged at the singing of the "Agnus Dei" between the attendants at the altar immediately before the Communion. In every variant its presence attests the constancy of the liturgical tradition and links us not only with Cyril in 347, but with Justin, who saw it long before 150, and no doubt (as Cyril himself believed) with the closing words of the

letters to the Thessalonians, Romans, and Corinthians, all written by A.D. 60.

Still more remarkable is the formula which comprises the so-called "Preface," the Responses which introduce it, and the "Triumphal Hymn" into which it breaks at the close. This singular and most striking group is to be found in *all* the liturgical families, and in all at the same point, as the introduction of the commemorative office technically known as the "Anaphora." Justin refers to it; Cyril describes it in minute and earnest detail, and preserves for us the startling fact that the very words of the Responses, which you may hear chanted in this connection at any Catholic Mass on any Sunday, were so chanted in Jerusalem between A.D. 300 and 350. *Sursum corda*: "Lift up your hearts; We have lifted them up to the Lord; Let us give thanks to the Lord our God; It is meet and right." So runs the ancient interchange, and the Priest, taking the word from the people's answer, goes on: "It is truly meet and just, right and available unto salvation that we should always give thanks to Thee." What follows—and here again the various Liturgies agree with one another and with Cyril—is a hymn of the glory and the providence of God, which ends by making mention of the Angels and Archangels, Cherubim and Seraphim, and of the heavenly song they sing, wherein we humbly join—"Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord God," and "Blessed is He who cometh in the name of the Lord"—cometh, indeed, in that sacramental commemoration of His very sacrifice which is about to begin. There is a strong probability that the earliest forms of the Preface were founded on, and adapted by the Apostles from those very psalms of the Hallel which our Lord chanted with His disciples at the Supper. But the proof of the connection between the two would require a more detailed statement than could be given here.

The Canon itself, which, like the whole office, is now much shortened as compared with the first

centuries, may be divided into three parts—the Great Intercession for the Living and the Dead, the Eucharistic Commemoration itself, and the Communion. The wording of the important passages is preserved with astonishing fidelity here, although even here there is a curious difference in the way in which the intercessory formulæ are combined with the words of commemoration. This variance is, in fact, a distinguishing test by which the critical scholar can say to which of certain great families a particular local use belongs. In the Alexandrine the great prayer is before the consecration; in others after it; in our own, partly before and partly after.

Of the central Commemoration itself, the Sacramental words, and the Elevation, there is little that I need here say, except that in *every* rite they testify, beyond cavil, to the doctrine of the Real Presence. It is but a simple recital of the facts of the Supper at which the Mass was instituted, and of the command then given; and as the Church has always believed, the mystery of the Divine Presence comes to pass, and the miracle Christ wrought is wrought again, when the solemn words are uttered. Therefore we bow down, and adore.

It is this act of the Mass which the Church from the first century onward has styled the “Sacrifice”—the repetition, that is, by a providential ordinance of the great offering once made upon the Cross. Connected with it is the remarkable rite of the “fraction of the Host,” to which every liturgy ever known gives prominence. But there remains the Sacrament; and when, after the “Agnus Dei,” a bell rings again, the priest, having made his private preparation, receives that Holy Communion, and with him any or all the people, if they will. By this the office is completed, except for the prayers of thanksgiving, and the final blessing. In our usage, however, there is read the introduction of St. John’s Gospel, as a final theme of meditation. Other prayers, English or Latin, may be added at the end, or at the beginning, or before the sermon; but with

these exceptions the stated course of the ritual is followed by the officiating priest, the people being free to use their own prayers, so long as they in spirit and intention "assist at" or follow the action.

In reverting, after this description, to the historical question, I need not refer further to the internal evidence afforded by the consensus of the early rites, except to remind you that the existence of several great types or families of liturgical uses in as many great and largely autonomous Churches, each type going back to at least the third or fourth century, and the fact that these while varying in order and detail yet point clearly to a common scheme, which is the essential Mass, constitutes to any fair historical critic one of the strongest possible proofs that that common scheme arose *before* the separation of these Churches, and was settled as of general and vital importance by some authority to which they all referred back; which is the same as to say that the Mass in its essentials is Apostolic. The force of that line of argument will already be apparent, and any candid critic can easily follow it out. As to the external evidence to be drawn from all the writers of the first four centuries (including Justin and Cyril), our proposition is that, differing as they do in race, character, and subject, no fair-minded reader can collate the numerous utterances which bear on the central office of the Christian Church as they knew it, without admitting that it was in its essentials such a service as the Mass I have described.

It would be impossible, within any practical limits, to marshal these testimonies. I cannot here do more than illustrate the argument by indicating one or two of the details—internal and external—which point very strongly to the Apostolic age.

It is said that the liturgical texts were not committed to writing till the fourth century. St. Basil (A.D. 375), when he wrote down his own, was struck (as he tells us in the *De Spiritu Sancto*, c. 27), by the singular fact that, at the most vital and well-guarded portion of the office, the words of institution, the

liturgical tradition did *not* follow the texts of the Gospels and Epistles which had for centuries been the common possession of the Church. He explains that in that matter the Church had not referred herself to the written words, because "there are many points most important for the mystery which we receive (from the Apostles) by unwritten tradition, in addition to those which the Gospels relate." It is very plain, on a mere comparison of texts, that in spite of their veneration for and dependence on the origin and character of the rite, no one of the ancient types *followed* the formula of any Gospel. Evidently they claimed for themselves a coequal authority, as regards the events of that momentous Supper.

It comes out in many ways. The biblical texts vary as to whether Christ spoke of "My Body which is broken," or "My Body which is given." The liturgy of St. James vouches that He said *both*. Almost all the rites are particular to say that when He invoked the Eucharistic blessing, Christ "raised His eyes to heaven"—which is not to be found in the Bible and is apparently therefore a traditional detail. It is a curious fact that practically all the rites concur in the ceremony of mixing water with the wine, of which there is no word in the Bible. Their tradition as to this detail of Christ's action was so strong that they regarded it as an essential part of the rubric of the Commemoration. And St. Cyprian (A.D. 245-258), discussing this very question of form, asserts that he upheld it because it was the tradition of the Apostles as to that act of Christ which they were commanded to repeat.

Now, as we have seen, usages of this kind cannot conceivably have been copied by any one of the liturgical families from another. There is no common centre, after the Apostles, on which they can be supposed to converge—not even Rome. If such minute matters were preserved and handed down concurrently in each, they can have come only from the scrupulous care of those who saw and heard the

great act, and themselves directed the manner of its commemoration.

As for the literary witness of the earliest Christian centuries, it would be a long labour to discuss it in detail. The heathen testify by their jests and their calumnies, as well as the Christian documents of every class, and the chance indications even of the early heretics. Pliny's inept account to Trajan of the worship of the despised sect confirms, as do the other Roman travesties, the internal and very accurate account we have from Justin Martyr. The Roman uses the word "sacrament," though he does not know its meaning. Justin even uses the word "sacrifice," Irenæus is not very far removed from the Apostles, and his writings teem with allusions to the doctrine of the Real Presence; but he gives us a stronger piece of evidence than his own, for he tells us in distinct and technical terms how the heretic Marcus, whom he was attacking, had himself retained, though in a perverted form, the Mass and the Real Presence, so that he professed to make the wine show as red blood in the cup after his words of invocation. Why should a heretic of the second century have carried away these things, even in his revolt, if they were not then one of the essentials of the Apostolic faith?

I have mentioned already the minute account of the then ritual of Jerusalem in the catechism of Cyril, written about 337; and I cannot now dwell, as I would wish to do, on the extraordinary strength of the argument as to the antiquity even of the minutiae of the office I have described, which we derive from this and the far earlier account of Justin. In the Mass known to the latter not long after 100, we can distinguish the Entrance, the Offertory, the Preface, the Eucharistic Prayer and the Formula of Institution, the Exclusion of the Catechumens, the Communion of the presiding priest and of the people, and the explicit doctrine of the Real Presence. What stronger evidence need

we require to prove that the Mass was the accepted Christian ritual of the contemporaries or successors of John?

The references presented by chance among the fathers of the first three centuries have lately been brought together by the care of German scholars; and the result is so self-evident, that I venture to say no competent person will now deny that the broad lines of the Liturgy of the Mass are as old as anything in the forms of Christianity.

So far I have been seeking to make clear the basis and history of the Mass, and have dealt with it as one of the visible facts of human life. But each of the great institutions of the world is more than a mere fact of history. It is great, because it has behind it a group of antecedent ideas which it presupposes, embodies, and translates into the actualities of life. I pass therefore to consider the Mass in this light also.

The fact of knowledge, the existence of ethics, the possibility of political or social life—all these involve, as any of you who are familiar with Kant's fundamental arguments will allow, certain ideas as the antecedent conditions of their possibility. So also does the existence of religion. It is not, however, to the present purpose to analyze religion as a whole. My task is rather to set out those broad general ideas which are implied in that expression of religion with which we have to deal. I do not disguise from you my conviction that either process would lead to much the same result; but this is not the occasion for so fundamental an inquiry. If you study the Mass itself, you will observe that the four ideas which stand out as fundamental are: *the need of prayer, the fitness of worship, the craving for a Divine communion, and, above all, the realization of the personal presence of God.* These form what one may call the abstract basis of the Mass—as distinguished from the dogmatic aspect of it already referred to, in which it is the public profession of the Catholic faith, the commemoration of the death of Christ, the fulfilment

of His last behest, and the mystical renewal of His sacrifice,

We hold, and I think the candid student will agree, that all the four ideas belong to the very essential character of religion, as distinguished from other ways of spiritual expression, such as ethics or poetry. Ethics is the side of life on which I stand related to an abstract, imperative, rigid law—a pitiless, infinite Yea or Nay. Poetry—indeed, art in general—is that phase of life in which I stand related to an infinite beauty, revealed in endless subtleties of unexpressed suggestion. Religion also is a relation between the finite self and the infinite ; but it is distinguished pre-eminently in this, that for it the relation is always and above all things a *personal* one.

That the attribution to infinite being of all we mean, in any positive sense, by personality, is involved not only in ethics but even in knowledge, and in all life, is capable, I am certain, of strict proof. But neither in the intellectual nor in the ethical side of things is the personality of the infinite the prominent note. In the religion of intellectual life, the infinite is truth ; in the arts, it is beauty ; in the ethical world, it is law ; but in religion, beyond and above all else, it is love. Knowledge may imply a universal mind, and law may pre-suppose a lawgiver ; but love cannot even be stated or thought of but as the love of one person for another.

This spiritual life is the beating heart of the universe. Unless you are audacious enough to say that all the religion of the human centuries is a mere absurdity—nay, even if you were—we can with cogent reason appeal to the mere existence of religion as a fact of life, in proof that the infinite distances are not a silent void, that in the tideless reaches of the past the seeing eye would find, not the blind onset of an iron fate, but the personal tending of a tireless care, and that the shut portals of future shall disclose not death, but the living God.

Now if religion pre-supposes and means a personal

relation between each personal self and a personal God, this common relation would naturally, indeed necessarily, form a bond of community among men ; and in every age, accordingly, it has presented itself in public as well as in private forms. All kinds of men have felt that public assemblies for religious observance were a natural need. If one asked, what such a sacred office would imply, I should say that by the very necessity of the case, it must imply exactly those four elements which I have already named. Let us consider them separately.

It must involve the element of *prayer*. If there were no such thing as prayer, religion would be an idle sentiment—indeed, a mockery. If I stand face to face across the universe of things with another Person who cares for me infinitely, and whose power is limitless, I shall surely cry to Him in my need. Some access, some way of intercourse, is involved in the very thought of such a Godhead. We speak to Him and He will hear us. But there are those who ask, How can He answer ? and they tell us that the course of things is fixed by a beneficent and unswerving law. Now none of us deny the cosmic order, nor the sequences of cause and effect. I am not talking of praying for a miracle, nor need I even discuss here whether there be such things. There is scope enough for God's answer to our prayer without violence to any of the so-called " laws," which are the fetish of the lesser sort of scientific men. You do not prove, by pointing us to causes and events, that Providence must stand aside and see the cruel wheels go round. I venture to say you will prove nothing against a rational belief in prayer, until you go the whole reckless range of pure materialism, and deny all freedom of human action as well as of the Divine. Are any of you prepared to say the universe is but a gigantic mechanism ? If you think you are, let me remind you that the theory will do more than destroy religion. It will end at once all ethics, all effort, all ideals. It will reduce consciousness to a

mockery, spirituality to a dream, and love to a chemical attraction; and, after all, it will have explained nothing, but rather rendered everything insoluble.

No such wild hypothesis can be rationally described as the result of science; and, consistently with all we do know, there is ample scope for our belief. In the first place, we know, as clearly as we know anything, that our action is every instant changing, sometimes on issues of enormous moment, the "natural" trend of the forces about us. A ship is driving on a lee shore. To a savage eye her wreck is an obvious inference from law. But a man's will, by a power of selection and • adaptation simple enough to us, can turn the very engines of destruction into the servants of his design. So God, we say, upon His greater plane.

Again, a thing of daily experience for us, as between the human lives we know, is the fact of influence. Exactly how the personality of a man or woman acts on other lives, we cannot pretend to say. But friendship and love, hate and help, rivalry and discipleship, we have all seen to spring into being, sometimes in a moment, for a mere nothing, a casual meeting, a passing word. Some subtlety of character, or a so-called personal magnetism yet more impalpable, may bind, as by a spell, not only individuals but mighty masses of men. We see such things among ourselves. When we pray God for the light and growth, for purity and healing, for help and hope and holiness, why shall not He act also by such ways of influence in His far wider way?

We pray, then, in the Mass, for our own needs and for all the world's, in due obedience to the will of God. A common form of general prayer—the "great intercession"—is a factor of that archetype of all the Liturgies for which we claim an apostolic origin. In all of them it takes the form of a prayer first for all the living, and then for all the dead. To us they are all members of that body of Christ,

which is the Church ; for to us the life beyond the grave is not the Calvinist alternative of instant heaven or hopeless misery, with no world of redress and preparation set between. If by prayer we can help our brethren whom we see, then we believe that by prayer, if God will, we may help also our brethren who have gone before us—out of sight, indeed, but not beyond our reach ; for they also are but another of the folds of God.

But it is not on this venerable formula alone that Catholics rely for the element of prayer. In the Mass the ritual words are but the guides, and not the fetters of devotion. The whole course of the office is to the devout Catholic one long occasion for prayer. It is made intense and living by the solemnity of the action. It is assuredly not chilled, but rather constantly upheld, by the familiar form and ceremonial. Every movement of the priest and his attendants, every time a bell is rung or a salutation or response is heard, is but another warning to pray—eagerly, keenly, ceaselessly—using the moments well, for now is the acceptable time. The Mass has hardly begun when in the Collects we pray for the good estate of Christendom. After an interval the Offertory warns us to present our lives as a living sacrifice before the Lord, and to pray for our personal needs. The ceremony of the “*Lavabo*” bids us pray for purity of heart and forgiveness of our remembered sins. As we join in the Great Intercession, we are taught to make a special mention of every individual soul, in life or death, for whom by any personal reason we are moved to pray. Presently, raising his voice, the priest cries, “*And to us sinners also.*” It is a call to the hearers that they should turn again to ask of God, each for himself, the helps that, in their human frailty, they need. A few moments more and you will hear the lifted voice reciting the ancient formula with which the Lord’s Prayer is ushered in ; and all will follow it, for it is said aloud ; and all will answer at the closing words, and join in that echo of

them which comes after, in the "prayer against temptation." The "Agnus Dei" is another summons, and its cry for mercy and for peace is echoed again by the beautiful prayer for the peace of the Church, which leads on to the Communion and the solemn close.

Any one is free, of course, to read the ritual words with scrupulous observance, and if it be helpful to his personal devotion he does well; but every one is likewise free and is advised to adapt the course and movement of the ritual to his own soul's wants, and to his own best methods of spiritual expression. Therefore the Mass is never rigid, cold, inert, as other rites have been where ritual was the beginning and the end. The whole great company of worshippers in a Catholic cathedral are doing but one thing—they are joining, and they feel themselves to be joining, in one and the same great act; yet at the same moment each is standing face to face in instant personal relation with the presence of his God.

If it were possible I would have wished to indicate to you a few of the many common plans of individual prayer, called "Methods of Hearing Mass,"¹ which are to be found in our various books. But prayer is not the only phase of that personal relation which religion means, and I must pass now to another manifestation of it, which is at least as universal. No one can deny the constant recurrence in human history of the idea of *worship*—that homage paid to the infinite Lord, which we commemorate in the common use of language when we describe any religious office as "divine service."

If it be true that religion means a relation of person to person, it is also evident that that relation does not imply any equality of rights such as we assert or expect in the human relations we know. Freedom of one individual as against another we assume in our human conduct. For every assertion of a right to make *me* alter my own course for *your*

¹ *A Book of the Mass* (Catholic Truth Society, 2d.) gives some of these.

advantage or desire, must prove itself or be denied. Until you can show good reason to the contrary, I am among men my own master, and, in right of my mere manhood, equal comrade of every man who breathes. But as between any man and the Divine, how vast, how ineffable is the difference !

In the post-Reformation systems of thought, and above all in those American new departures of which Emerson and Walt Whitman are the true exponents, there is a strong tendency to suggest that there is something base and servile in the acknowledgement of any dependence of a human person, even upon the Divine. Some of these people talk as if they might shake hands with God ; others, as if it were a fine thing to shake their fist at Him. One of the most brilliant, and, as I fear, most subtly mischievous, expositions of this kind of human pride is to be found in Emerson's remarkable " Essay on Self-Reliance." Yet what utter nonsense it all is ! One is tempted to cry out, like the sour sage, " How God must laugh, if such a thing could be, to see His wondrous mannikins below !" If we are in fact face to face with a personality which is *not* one among other equal selves, but infinite—a self as *against* whom neither right nor duty can be predicated at all—for whom all conceivable limitations are but as an idle fancy, and every imaginable power but as the lightest motion of His will—then our self-assertion against such an one is a mere insanity. All ultimate goodness is and can be nothing but the adjustment of our personal volition to the standard of that one effectual will. If, then, revolt can be nothing in the end but self-destruction, it is merely ludicrous to inquire whether our human dignity is injured by the act of adoration. As from Him we derive our being, it cannot be false to say He is our Lord. If there be any sense in which we can talk of justice entering into so unequal a relation, it is most just that we should do Him service. The best reason for it, however, is not that it is His due, for our refusal will hardly make Him poorer. But as it is with prayer,

so with worship also—it is for *our* sakes that we must lift our hearts to Him. It is exactly because the emptiness of human folly is prone to raise itself against the Master; it is because pride, rebellion, swollen insolence are possible, that it is well we should remind ourselves of that eternal infinite disparity, and bow down and bend the knee. Not even of purity or truth did Christ so strongly speak, as of humility, meekness, lowliness of heart.

Not that there are not forms of self-reliance and respect which are wholesome and honourable, nay, even needful for the perfect service of our God. If each man revered himself to every height consistent with all other reverence, the world would be quickly purified. It is only against the self-insistence in the face of the Divine that we protest. Because to set our will against the Holy Will is the very mark of sin, therefore to worship is the essence of religion. I have seen the stout burghers of a Dutch town, assembled in their Groote Kerk, marching about with hats on, talking sturdily, to show that they disclaimed the folly of a reverent bearing. If their manner did not belie them, they were minded, one must believe, to *obey* no more and no farther than they chose. For any of us to say that, would be to set up as an independent centre of action in the universe; and these, like independent centres in our own or any other organization, are in fact a disease, and must work out their own elimination.

I fear that not a little of the common prejudice of a certain robust type of Englishman against the Catholic religion arises out of such a distaste as these Dutchmen, or as the typical John Bull of the past, would certainly have felt for anything in the way of worship which involved any obvious abasement before a higher power. To the Catholic mind this is not dignity, but a monstrous littleness of soul. To us the acknowledgement of our dependence upon the Father, as those “little children” of whom Christ spoke, is a good and a beautiful thing. We believe that they who in this sense are “poor in spirit” are

“blessed,” as the Master said. We confess our nothingness in the face of the Almighty Love, not grudgingly but joyously ; and every time that we are privileged to assist at the offering of the Mass, we rejoice in it as a special and most fitting opportunity for the act of adoration.

It is to this ruling idea of worship that all our formal usages refer : a kneeling posture, a reverent demeanour, and all such symbols as the offering of incense, or of flowers and other precious things about the altar, which we think of as His throne. They are but poor attempts after the expression of that sense of reverence which it surely is our interest not to lose. Ruskin said once that “in reverence lies the chief joy and power of life.” The lack of it in the modern world is an evil deeper than we know. If you abolish the fashion and semblance of reverent worship in religion, where else, think you, will it survive ?

Apart from symbolism, the note of worship is continued throughout the whole office, by the constant recurrence of the poetic expression of the Divine praise. Some one may say that it is unmeaning that men should “praise God” ; and so it would be, if it were not that spontaneous expression of our gladness in His perfect majesty which is but the translating of our adoration into words. Your blustering burgher chanting formal psalms might seem to be “a sounding brass” ; but the humble soul, who for the pure delight of thinking upon God must needs proclaim His glory, is but joining, as our own Preface puts it, in the Heavenly Song.

There is yet another sense in which the Mass is charged with an intense adoration, such as must often amaze an earnest stranger. As the action rises towards its culminating point, you cannot fail to notice how the signs of waywardness, or vanity, or inattention gradually cease. Those who have been sitting, kneel—those who have been reading, lay their brows upon their hands to pray, and when the warning bell has rung, there is throughout a

Catholic church an intense silence, a rapt devotion, such as I, at least, have never elsewhere seen. It is in that moment that you may see how reverence alone can solemnize and glorify the trivialities of life. From the squalid warrens of the poor, from the sordid worries of the middle class, from the idle vanities of fashion, they are gathered together—as of old—for the “breaking of the bread.” They have come to pay their service to that Majesty before whom all differences fade. And as the great words are said, the great act done, they are rapt beyond the little things about their feet, and are forced to look up, if it be but for a moment, at the mighty things that are eternal. In that strange stillness, even the least of His little ones may be glorified by the solemnity and the enthusiasm of adoration. The inspiration of high poetry and of glorious music is a noble thing; but for us there is a way of nobler inspiration, open to the dull and the unlearned at least as readily as to the wise, wherever Mass is said.

The third idea I have called the need of a *Divine Communion*; but I know not how I may express to you with any clearness what to us that word conveys. I have said that the idea of prayer—the access from our side to God—is inherent in the very conception of a personal relation between the Finite and the Infinite. If that is one side, Communion is the other. The sense of our dependence, which we express as worship, is not inconsistent to the Christian with the belief that in another sense, transcending our imagination, we may be made one with the Divine. If you will read the intense chapters at the end of St. John’s Gospel, or any of the great books of religious utterance, such as the “Imitation,” you will see that the sense of the Divine Love cannot remain for the religious soul a merely intellectual proposition. “Whosoever eateth My flesh abideth in Me, and I in him.” “That they may be one, as we also are one; I in them and thou in me.” Such phrases, commonly de-

scribed as mystical, are reiterated over and over again. And in the passion of the love of God, the great writers of the Church have delighted to talk of dying to themselves and to all earthly things that they may be the more lost in their Beloved—and they have meant what they said.

These things are of personal experience, and to those who are without, they may seem nothing. I desire now only to repeat that the personal relation of each finite self to the Infinite Self cannot be otherwise thought of than as a union of love, whatever in the marvels of the infinite such love may mean. This love, not merely of man for God, but of God for man, is of the essence of the Christian, as indeed of any religion that is more than childish. Now of love itself, in any phase of it, what can we say? Men have said and sung an infinite deal about it; but they can say little more than that it is a union of two souls, wherein in some sense their personal interests have fallen away so that they are to each other no longer alien, but as one. What, then, would such love be, if it could transcend our limits and be taken up into the Divine? We could not, apart from any revelation, have professed to say; but we may say without unreason that in such a conception we have a key at least to some of the aspects of the sacramental and mystic conceptions of the Divine Communion; of an Infinite Love, who gives Himself to us, whose delight it is to dwell with us, whose yearning is for our answering love, who makes Himself like to our lowliness that He may reach us and draw us to Himself; who can, indeed, if we will love Him, be one with us and yet our God, as we too can be lost in Him and yet be none the less the personal selves He made.

I cannot pretend to tell you, even remotely, of that hidden wisdom of the spiritual life of the Church. None of you who have read the lives and writings of the Saints can doubt that they lived by it, and that those who expressed it were uttering

the most sacred truths they knew, for which they would each and all have counted it a joy to die. You may think they were deceived, but that intense belief of all these great and holy men is a tremendous fact of our humanity, and has had and still has its immense results. There is, however you explain it, a human craving for such oneness with the far-off Infinite; and in the Mass it has found, among all manner of men, a full and abiding satisfaction. The idea of such communion is, as you already know, inherent in its earliest plan, as it was the main idea of the Last Supper itself. In early times, the actual reception of the Sacramental Communion by all present was the usual custom; though at an early date, for various reasons, that ceased to be expected. Nevertheless, so strongly is this side of the Mass insisted on, that you will find that all our books of devotion exhort the hearer, if he is not prepared for the actual reception of the Eucharist, to make at that part of the Mass the meditations and exercises which are known as a "Spiritual Communion," that he may thereby take unto himself, if not the sacramental fulness of the Divine Love, at least so much of the sense and effect of that union with the present God as in his duller spiritual state he may.

The three ideas to which I have now sought to direct your attention are, however, all dominated by the last, which contains in itself the wide and fundamental distinction between the Mass and every other form of public worship. I have called it *the realization of the presence of God*.

To all who believe in God, He must of logical necessity be, in some sense, always present. But when Christ said that "where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them," He was referring to the evident fact that for the human consciousness there may and must be a special presence of God, on those occasions when His children come before Him.

Here, as so often in the Catholic Creed, we come upon the note of human solidarity. God is present to any religious soul ; but where the brethren are gathered together—where the collective life of the Christian society is manifested—there He is, so to say, more fully present and more near. It is good to pray alone, and to lift up the silent worship of the heart ; but it is better, it is indeed a duty, to come forth and join with others in a social act of worship, in a common prayer for the common need. For the Church of Christ is above all things an organic community, wherein none are isolated, none rejected, none sent empty away. The representative office of the priest, offering the Mass in the name of all the people, absent as well as present, dead as well as alive, is the sign and token of this corporate character. The congregation—each particular ἐκκλησία—is but the representative of all the Church ; and to each there comes, as we believe, the Real Presence of that Lord, who called the Church His Bride.

It is not enough that one should know, as an intellectual proposition, that God is here. It is of much more consequence that we should realize it—that His personal nearness should be brought home to each man's heart. We may know that a friend is not far off, but that knowledge has on us a very different effect from the sound of a well-known step, or the hearing of a long-remembered voice. So the one thing which, above all else, I venture here to claim for the great office of the Catholic Church, is that it brings home to us the vivid, palpable sense of " God with man."

At this point, however, the subject passes out beyond our reach. I have more than occupied the space of time appointed to me. And I could not hope, even if I delayed you far longer, to bring home to you what is meant, in the spiritual experience of the Catholic world, by the Sacramental Presence. There are some things which it is not granted to man to utter, at least in the ordinary ways of speech.

To apprehend them, there is only one way : and that is the way of Christ, who bade us live by faith and love.

WHY IN LATIN ?

BY THE REV. GEORGE BAMPFIELD

I.

“AND you, an Englishman of the present century, brought up in a Protestant school and in a Protestant University, you boldly say that it is right and well for the Mass to be said in Latin?”

I do. Righter and better, more reasonable, and more Scriptural—yes, you may open your eyes, more Scriptural—than to say it in English.

“Well! If that is not wonderful! Why, I went the other day into your church. There was bending and bowing, and standing and kneeling, boys going here and boys going there, lighting of candles and swinging of incense, the choir singing and the priest trying to sing, and a thundering big organ drowning everybody in the church with a deluge of sound; but what it was all about I could not for the life of me understand. The choir sang in Latin, and the priest sang in Latin—at least I suppose it was Latin, it certainly was not English—and when he was not singing you could not hear a word he said. Why, he had his back turned to you nearly all the time, and he spoke quite low to himself, he didn’t seem to want anybody to hear; so I came out of the church quite puzzled. I had not said a single prayer, and I had not the slightest idea what it all meant.”

I fully understand you, and I thoroughly feel for you. You Protestants, when first you come into our churches, must think us the queerest of creatures. I remember how puzzled I was at the first High Mass I ever saw, a day or two after I became a Catholic. I had never been in a Catholic church before, except to look at the architecture, and I sadly disappointed the good priests of the church, who thought I should be delighted, by telling them honestly that the whole thing was to me a Chinese puzzle, and that I did not enjoy it a bit. I can quite feel for you : it must be very, very hard for you. But now, tell me this : Did you look about you at all at the other people in the Church ?

" Well, yes ; I did : there was nothing much else for me to do."

Well, now ; The poor Catholics in the church, the old apple-woman, and the dirty old beggarman, and the horny-handed labourer, did they seem puzzled like yourself, or did they look as if they were quite at home and knew all about it ?

" I must say they looked very attentive, and they seemed really to be saying prayers. There was that funny old Bridget McGrath, I could not help looking at her : she kept lifting her eyes up, and spreading her hands out, and beating her breast, and sometimes groaning a little, and really—though I did feel a trifle inclined to laugh—yet there was that look of awe and devotion about the queer old creature's face that one could not help seeing that she was in earnest. And most of the people, even the children, seemed, I fancy, to understand."

Was there any part of the service at which they all seemed more devout than at another ?

" Well, yes, there was ; it was when a bell tinkled two or three times, and the music stopped, and the choir did not sing, and the priest knelt just for a moment, and the people bowed down their heads, and there was such a strange hush and silence through the church

that I felt half frightened, and bowed my own head, I scarcely knew why. Even poor Bridget was quieter than usual, and just whispered under her breath, 'Ah ! dearest Lord,' I think it was ; something of the sort."

Were the children quiet ?

"Yes ; they were quiet too."

Well, you see, their all showing devotion at one time more than another proves that they all knew something about it. It was not all music and show. They were not staring at the organ and the singers, were they, all the time, or looking at the little boys with candles ?

"No : only the Protestants did that."

And were there many poor in the church, or was it only poor Bridget, and a few other old things ?

"Oh ! it was crammed with poor people."

There it is : poor people would not come Sunday after Sunday to a worship of which they could make neither head nor tail. Somehow or other this Latin, which seems to you so terrible, neither frightens the poor nor puzzles them. Really they seem to like Latin better than English ; for when I go sometimes into Protestant churches, where everything is in English, I see what is called a "highly respectable" congregation, but I see no dirt and rags. Now, as a matter of my own taste I don't like dirt and I don't like rags, but I do like to see the dirty and the ragged not afraid to go into the House of God. I think you will grant that our Latin Mass draws the poor more than your English prayers ?

"You do get the poor somehow, spite of the Latin."

We do, and that is what I want you to think about. It does not follow because you are puzzled when you come into our churches, that even poor and ill-taught Catholics are puzzled also. Our poor, though they know not a word of Latin, understand our Latin Mass far better than your poor understand your English prayers. That they love it better is quite clear from our crowded churches and your empty ones. A Latin Mass brings together a reverent crowd of praying poor ;

English prayers bring together a comfortable assembly of the well-to-do.

“ You are hard upon us ; yet there is some truth in what you say. For all that, you have not given us yet any reason for the Mass being in Latin ! ”

No, I have not, that will come by-and-by. I have merely forced upon you the fact that our poor do understand their Mass, so far as outward appearances go. I have shown you that our Catholic poor are not, as a matter of fact, puzzled by the Mass being in Latin, and that, so far as we can judge from their outward conduct, they know what they are about at the Latin Mass. If we are to judge of things by their fruits, the fruit of the Latin Mass is better than the fruit of the English prayers. If this is so, the understanding of the Mass, though it be in Latin, cannot be so terribly hard a thing, and if you are puzzled by it, the fault, I fancy, must be your own. A little trouble would make it as easy to you as to them.

Now, my next step is to show you how this comes about ; it is a strange thing that the poor ignorant creatures should not be puzzled by Latin, and proves that there is something underneath, matters into which you have not yet enquired. When you see why the poor are not puzzled you will see also why there would be no earthly use in the Mass being in English. There are two things I have to prove to you : 1. That there is no use in the Mass being in English ; 2. That there is much use in its being in Latin. We will take the first point to-day, that there is no earthly reason for the Mass being in English, and that, so far as the devotions of the people go, they would be as earnest and warm and devout if the Mass were said in ancient Arabic or modern Chinese as if it were said in English. There are other good reasons why Latin should be the tongue, but so far as people's prayers go, it matters not what the tongue is which the priest is using.

“ No matter ? Why, if our clergyman was to pray

in French, and read the Bible in Spanish, and preach in Italian, what would be the good of it all to us?"

What indeed? But then, you see, your service is not our service; our Mass is a different thing from your Morning and Evening Prayer. If your clergyman read your prayers in Latin it would be very absurd, but when our clergyman reads our Mass in Latin it is not at all absurd.

"Oh, you are always full of your puzzles. What is this mighty difference?"

Don't lose your temper with me, but tell me quietly; at your service, what is it your clergyman and you do?

"He prays, preaches, and reads the Bible, and there are psalms and hymns sung."

Nothing else?

"Nothing, except on Communion Sundays; but most people don't stop to that."

Then supposing it were all in Latin, or supposing you were a Frenchman and did not know one word of English, there would be nothing whatever in which you could join?

"Nothing whatever; there's that poor girl, the French servant at Lord Strange's, who comes without any bonnet on, I believe she's some sort of Protestant; but she does look so puzzled in church; she yawns and fidgets and makes great eyes at the clergyman, and the children declare she reads a French novel half the time."

I don't wonder; but you see our poor people don't yawn and fidget and make great eyes; and I will tell you why. In the first place—it sounds a queer question to ask—but I suppose you know that the priest preaches not in Latin, but in English?

"Does he? You surprise me! I was always told he preached in Latin."

God forgive those who told you! It is strange indeed that such monstrous falsehoods should be spread, even by religious men. What odd consciences they must have! No: our priest preaches in English, else

where would be the good of his preaching? And though for good reasons he reads the Bible in Latin, yet he reads it immediately afterwards to the people in English.

“Read the Bible! The Bible! You!”

Every Sunday in the English tongue. You’ve been told, of course, that we never read the Bible.

“I have, often.”

Great is Diana of the Ephesians; magnificent in its way is that unearthly power of lying which the truth-loving English enjoy on all Catholic matters.

“Then if the priest preaches and reads the Bible in English, why does he pray in Latin? It makes it queerer still.”

He is not only praying; he is doing a work which is greater than prayer; and the people join with him not in the words he is saying, but in the work he is doing. He does not want them to join in the words he is saying; he would rather they did not; so little does he want them to join that he says half the prayers not only in Latin, but quite low to himself: let the people use their own words, say their own prayers, point out to God their own wants, for each heart knows its own grief, and no shoulder bears the same cross; let many different prayers therefore arise to heaven, so long as all join in the one great Act, the grand Work, which gives to all the different prayers their value.

“What is that one great Act?”

Sacrifice. Sacrifice is the worship of God. The Jews of old time had their synagogues—their chapels—all over the Holy Land, and in these synagogues they preached and read the Bible, and prayed. That was good, but it was not the worship of God. The worship of God, the true grand worship of God, was in the Temple, where daily, morning and evening, the Lamb was offered to God, and died—a blameless martyr—to the honour of Him who made it. It was to this worship that three times a year the Jews were ordered, at no

little cost and weariness, to travel up. It was the loss of this that made David weep when he was in exile. The Synagogue—the Bible, the Sermon, the Prayer,—was not enough : it was for sacrifice, for the worship of God, that he yearned. Now your service is the service of the Synagogue, ours is the service of the Temple. The sacrifice of the Temple is greater than the prayers of the Synagogue.

“ But were there no public prayers at the time of sacrifice ? ”

If there were, they were not the great thing. What God ordered was the sacrifice ; we nowhere read that He ordered any form of prayers—what the people were to do was to be present at the sacrifice ; each man said his own prayers—the Pharisee his prayer of unholy thanksgiving ; this Publican his prayer of holier repentance ; David his bitter prayer of sorrow for his sin, of anxiety for his dying babe, or for his sinning Absalom ; Hannah, her supplication that she might have a child ; Simeon, his earnest cries for the coming of his Lord ; but all through the same sacrifice, as each man felt his want. It is quite curious to read what careful directions God gives to Moses for altar, and vestment, and incense, and candlestick, and every act and movement of the priest ; but of any form of public prayer no mention whatever. For sin even of ignorance, in thanksgiving for mercies, to ask for future blessings, to turn away dangers, or as an act of simple worship of the great God—for all these things is ordered sacrifice, for none of these things a form of prayer. And the duties of the people were two : 1. To be present in the Temple while the priest sacrificed ; 2. To feed upon certain parts of the victim. They joined with the priest in his Act, his great work, of sacrificing ; they joined with the priest in his feast, in feeding upon the victim ; they did not join with the priest in any public prayer or in any words said. Sometimes they could not see what he was doing, much less hear anything he said ; yet they knew what he was

doing, and joined in it. When the High Priest went once a year on the Day of Atonement into the Holy of Holies, bearing the blood of the sacrifice, he went alone; and the people were without, not even seeing his action, certainly not joining in any words, but knowing what his action was, and knowing that it was being done and joining in it—each offering the victim's blood with the priest, each with his own prayers, each for his own needs. When Zacharias, St. Luke tells us, went into the Temple of the Lord to offer incense, "all the multitude of the people were praying without" at the hour of incense; not seeing his action but joining in it, doing it with him, offering with him the incense to God, each with his own prayers, each for his own wants.

Clearly, therefore, whatever prayers the High Priest might say in the Holy of Holies, or Zachary at the altar of incense, it could not matter to the people in what language he said them. In the synagogue it would matter, because in the synagogue there was no sacrifice, nothing being done but prayer, and therefore, if the prayers were in a foreign tongue, there would be nothing whatever in which the people could join. But in the Temple it would not matter. The people joined in the Act of the Priest, not in any words of his; and therefore, if he spoke in the ancient Hebrew, as not impossibly he did, at a time when the people only understood Syriac, they would equally be able to join in all that they joined in before. The tongue would not be understood by the people; the Act would be understood by the people. In the Synagogue, the Prayers, Bible, Preaching, in Syriac; in the Temple, at the sacrifice, any tongue under the sun might be used, for anything it would matter to the people.

So is it still with the Mass. Mass is the everlasting offering of the true Lamb of God. It is the highest Action that is done on earth. Our Blessed Lord, when He was going to Heaven to present to His Father His

five wounds there, took thought for His Father's worship on earth, and left Himself on earth as the only worship that was worthy of His Father. And the unceasing offering of the Lamb that was slain—not indeed the slaying it, for it died but once, but the one unceasing offering it—is the great work of Mass. Mark you, I am not now proving to you the truth of our doctrine about Mass; that would take me too long; what I am now doing is showing you that with our doctrine and our worship the use of Latin is reasonable and useful, and better than the use of English. We will suppose that it is true that the Catholic priest is not only as much a priest as the son of Aaron, but an infinitely greater priest; we will suppose it true that the Lamb on the Catholic altar is a sacrifice infinitely higher and greater than the Lamb in the Jewish Temple; and then I say the same rule holds good for the Catholic as held good for the Jew: let each man join in the Great Act, offer the same Sacrifice, put up to God the same five wounds, the same crucified Body of God, the same saving Blood; but let each man offer it up in his own prayers and for his own wants, for each man's need is different, and no one carries the same cross.

Think for one moment of the great worship of God that was done on Calvary. The greatest act of worship ever done was done there by the greatest Priest, the only Priest; but it was done in silence. Mary, St. John, and the Magdalen were beneath, and knew what the great Act was, and as Abraham offered Isaac, so Mary, herself martyred, joined in the sacrifice of her Son; but seven times only amidst the thick darkness rang out the voice of the High Priest, nor always then in prayer. Not all three of those who stood beneath prayed the same prayer; one was the prayer of the Magdalen who saw there before her eyes the terrible work of her own sins, who crouched at her Lord's feet that those scarlet sins of hers might, as the blood dropped down, become white as wool; and another was the prayer of him, the

innocent one, the virgin friend of the virgin Heart, who had entered by right of his innocence into all its tenderness, and understood the depths of its love ; and another still the Mother's prayer, who drew from that slow-dripping blood a higher, grander salvation than we all — who, saved more than we, had a work to do more than we, and a right to stand there offering the Son who saved her, the blood which she had given Him, for us who were not yet saved, who were not yet one with Him. Each his own prayer, each his own thoughts, as they stood beneath the Cross, but all joined in the One Sacrifice, and to all their prayers and thoughts that one great Act gave their value.

So is it still. It matters not what the language be which the priest may use at the Catholic Altar ; what the people join in is the great Act of Worship, not any form of prayer : as the Jew in God's Temple at Jerusalem, as Mary and John and the Magdalen at the foot of the Lamb so silently bleeding His life away in that act of awful, hushed, worship.

II.

"You still have to show me why, if it matters not much as regards the people what the language is, Latin should be the tongue actually used. You have not answered that question yet."

No, I have not. I have put and answered a question that must go before it: Why need not the Mass be in English?

"Because the Mass is a Sacrifice, you say."

Yes. Prayer is something said to God; Sacrifice is something done to God. In Prayer the words are all; in Sacrifice the thing done is first, the words said are second. Sacrifice is a gift given; in a gift the grand thing is the act of giving, not the speaking of any particular word. When a multitude of people join in bringing a gift to God, each man of the multitude may have a different reason for bringing the gift. One may be in trouble and bring the gift to get out of his trouble; his neighbour may be in joy and bring the gift to thank God for his joy; a third in temptation, a fourth in sin,—all four bring the same gift, though for different reasons. The important point is that they should all join in offering the one gift, which gift is Jesus Christ, not that they should all join in the same words; joyful words could not express the sad man's sorrow, and sad words would not tell to God the happy man's joy; but both joyful and sorrowful tell their joy and their sorrow to God by the same gift, by the offering of the same Jesus Christ. The one thing required then is that all men should join in the act of sacrifice; but a form of prayer—prayer in the vulgar tongue which would force itself upon the ear—would be in the way at the Sacrifice of the Mass. It is not the idea nor the wish of the Church that her priest should pray aloud, and be heard, and take the people with him; she leaves each man to his own

freedom of prayer. Mass is a time of silent prayers, all put up through the one great Sacrifice. Sacrifice, and prayer without sacrifice, are in the Church's eyes different things. When in the Catholic Church we have what you would call public prayers or common prayer, then our prayers are in English. The evening service in most, or very many, Catholic churches is in English.

"You have prayers in English?"

Certainly: both more prayers and more beautiful prayers than any in your Book of Common Prayer. There is no end to the variety of Catholic devotions. All the good parts of your Prayer Book are sparkles of devotion that you have stolen—and, between you and me, spoiled in the stealing—from Catholic sources. You have no devotion to our dearest Lord half so tender as our Litany of Jesus. You have no prayers about the Passion half so touching as our Stations of the Cross. The best even of your hymns are ours. From St. Bernard down to Fr. Faber you take of our treasures and use them, and then turn round upon us and tell us we do not pray. We have plenty of English prayers, plenty of English hymns, and give them to the people at our evening service; but at the Holy Sacrifice we choose to leave the people at liberty. We think, as many Protestants think, that one common form of prayer can never express the devotion of all hearts: Protestants feel this and try to escape the difficulty by extempore prayer: the Catholic Church knew it long before, and while she bids the people ever do the same act, offer the same sacrifice, pray through the same wounded Lord, she leaves them to put up each his own extempore prayer; one day the prayer of sorrow, one day the thanksgiving of joy, and a third day the agonised cry of the tempted and failing. The sacrifice must be the same for all, the prayer may be different for each.

I am dwelling on this and doing little more than repeating over again what I have already said, because it seems to me so hard for you to understand the differ-

ence between our Sacrifice and your Common Prayer. English people have quite lost the notion of Sacrifice. Among the peoples of the earth, from the Creation until now, the English stand almost alone in this. They cannot understand, therefore, praying at a Sacrifice, and their notion of our Mass is a set of Latin prayers in which the people are positively idle, doing nothing, saying nothing, because they understand nothing. Whereas in fact the people are hard at work the whole time, joining with the priest in his great act, and praying—not indeed the same prayers as he, but each his own prayer—the whole time, as you can see for yourself if you will but enter a Catholic church and watch them.

There is another difference between our Mass and your public prayers, a difference which makes it not untrue for me to say—though it would startle you, I know—that the Latin of the Mass is really a tongue “understood of the people.”

“Latin understood by the people? You do startle me indeed!”

I did not say Latin, but the Latin of the Mass. The difference is this. The larger part of your service is every day different; there are two or three different Psalms and two different chapters of the Bible at each service, and Psalms and Scripture-reading make the largest part of your Common Prayer; people, therefore, rich or poor, can hardly get to know it by heart. But it is not so with our Mass; the largest part of our Mass, like your Communion Service, is every day the same. Day by day the same service—nay! I know what you are going to say, we do not tire of it, there is no shadow of fear that we should weary of it—day by day the same service, a short service too, is gone through. For those who read there are translations of the Mass into English in their sixpenny prayer-books side by side with the Latin; and the dullest and poorest can pray by themselves in English, if they please, the same prayers which the priest is praying by himself in Latin. Nay, with

a very little help they understand the Latin of the Mass almost as well as the priest himself. I am sure the boys of my parish school do. Just look at that little fellow kneeling on the altar steps while the priest is saying Mass. He is answering the priest at times, as the clerks answer—if Ritualism has left any clerks—in the Protestant Church; and he is answering him in Latin. He is but ten years old, and the son of a day-labourer, but I will dare to say that he not only knows what he is about, but knows the meaning of the Latin too. He has been saying it off and on these two years, and it would be odd if he did not. Just wait a while: there will be High Mass directly, and the boys will be singing, some twenty of them, and men joining in. They are singing Latin: they have been singing the same words to that grand Catholic music—the boys these five years, and the men, some of them, these twenty years. Not know the meaning of them because they are in Latin! I do not advise you to say that to the hot-tempered Irishman with the brawny chest and the big fist in the front of the choir. I fancy that he might be indignant. In truth, though it may not seem so to you, it is scarcely possible that, after a short time, the Latin of the Mass should not be as familiar to a Catholic as his own tongue—more so, indeed, than the language of your Prayer Book and your Bible. Between you and me, I question whether much of your Prayer Book is more “understood by the people” than Hebrew: but of that more by-and-by.

“You said just now that the Mass, though always the same, does not weary. I should have thought it would.”

No: I believe this to be not only from the awfulness of the Sacrifice, but from that very freedom of prayer of which I have spoken. Some Protestants love a form of prayer, and feel their devotion aroused and guided by that which is old and familiar: others feel that to pray according to a form is to pray in chains

and to imprison their devotion. Both feelings are, no doubt, true instincts of our nature, and both are satisfied by God's true worship of the Mass, as true instincts of the nature God has made must be satisfied by God's religion. The same unchanging Sacrifice is the cause and the guide of our devotion ; our liberty to pray during the Sacrifice as we will takes all chains from our devotions and makes the same worship ever new.

" Still you have not told me why the Mass should be in Latin."

No : we have only been carting away rubbish, before beginning to build. We have settled that no possible harm can be done to the people by the Mass being in Latin, for they can join the great Act each with his own prayers, they can use the priest's prayers in English, or they can even come to understand that much of Latin by constant use. And having settled that there is no harm done by the Mass being in Latin, if there is any good in its being in Latin let us by all means have that good.

" But is there any good ?"

Very decidedly yes. In the first place, it is a proverbial saying of which you will not doubt the truth, because it is in the Gospels, that we must not cast pearls before swine. The things of God are in a world which is careless and irreverent. Even in the College of Apostles there was a Judas, before whom our loving Lord had bountifully thrown the pearls of His teaching, and who turned again and rent his Master. So in every congregation that kneels in a Catholic church, here and there must be a Judas—one or two who will betray, and one or two who will deny. Besides these there is the multitude without, who know not our Lord—the multitude that throngs and jostles, and knows not whom it is so rudely pressing.

Now the Mass is the Church's pearl of great price. You do not understand that ? No, you cannot till you become a Catholic. But the Mass is our pearl of great

price. It is the life of the Catholic Church, the one thing for which it lives; nay, the one thing by which it lives—its food, its daily bread. Now, we give this food, this manna, to those who know it; from those who know it not we hide and protect it. Who cares to bare the secrets of a loving heart to a scoffing stranger? So we do not care to put our holiest things in plain English before the common scoffer. He who comes to learn will learn easily and surely: he who comes to scoff will turn away baffled; there will be no holy words for him to carry away as a jest for his fellow-laughter. Look how it is with the Scriptures that you have made so common, that hang upon the station walls, and lie side by side in the tap-room with the daily prints. Look how Scripture words and sacred sayings of our dearest Lord are flung from the mouths of infidels to point a jest, and scribbled in newspaper articles that they may spice a sentence. Truly the every-day mouthing of Scripture and the way in which Scripture is made a jest-book are a proof of what becomes of throwing God's pearls before the graceless.

Therefore now, see the first use of our Latin. It does not hide our Mass for one instant from the believing; it does not puzzle our own people one whit; but it screens our holiest things from the rude gaze of the infidel and the irreverent. The world cannot get easily into our secrets; cannot make a household jest of our pearl; and because it cannot, the world is wrath, and cries out "English prayers for English people," yes, that English scoffers may make a mock! Here, then, you have one good. Were our Mass in English, the scoffer would scoff easily: it is in Latin, and he is baffled. This is better for him, who would sin, and for us, who would be troubled, and for God, who would be insulted.

III.

“ Latin better than English for the Mass ! You are getting on. You said at first there was no harm done by its being in Latin or any other language not known to the people—now you say ‘ better.’ ”

Better, most certainly, mark you, for the Mass firstly, and for all the devotions of the Church, the devotions which she would have used by all nations alike everywhere. Each nation, or part of a nation for that matter, can have and has its own prayer books, its own hymns and the rest, in its own tongue :—English prayer books, Welsh prayer books, prayer books in the native Irish, and so on the world through, prayer books in county dialects if you like—but the Church’s devotions are for all nations alike everywhere, and for them the one tongue.

“ But Latin is a dead language ! ”

Exactly ; that’s just why it is better. Mostly living things are better than the dead. But a dead language is not as other dead things. If it rotted and fell to pieces like other dead things, then indeed would it be worse than living tongues. But when its meaning, which is its life, its soul, is fully known ; when it has within it authors who cannot die ; when any one who studies it, whatever be his nation, can make it live again, using it for speech and for writing—then it is a dead language indeed in one sense, since no whole nation speaks it, but a living language in another sense, most living of all languages, because the best-taught in every nation, making a sort of nation among themselves, can use it and do use it, a world-wide speech to make their thoughts known to each other. To speak or write in French is to speak and write for France, to write in English is to write for the English-speaking races, to write in Latin is to write for the world.

“ And this is why Latin is best ? ”

Part of my reason only. The Church is Catholic, world-wide, and it is clearly good for a world-wide Church to have a world-wide language. So men gathered as on the Day of Pentecost from all nations under heaven, in one monastery, or in one church, can not only be present at the same Sacrifice because it is an Act in which they all join, but can join in the same psalms and the same prayers, in the very same tongue to which they were used each in his own land. The sailor who has heard Mass in Latin at a village church in Devonshire goes off all round the world, and wherever he puts in he hears the same Mass, takes part in the same Act, in the same tongue which he used himself when he served at Mass before he left home ; and he can answer the priest, though he were a native of Japan or China or Central Africa, as readily as he answered Father O'Brien on the coast of Devon. Clearly this is good both for layman and priest. The Jesuit who is ordered off at a moment's notice to Timbuctoo, would say his Mass just as quietly when he got there as he had done at Farm Street : but it would sadly puzzle your Church of England clergyman if he had to read prayers at a moment's notice to a congregation of Laplanders in their native tongue.

“ Then is this your chief reason ? ”

No. A dead language can be made, without waking the jealousy of any living nation, a language for all men : but its deadness gives us—in religious matters—a greater good still.

“ Greater ? ”

Far greater : you will grant me, I think, that the first duty of the Society which our Lord founded must be to keep the Truth which our Lord taught : exactly the same Truth. Christianity changed is not Christianity ; Christianity added to, or Christianity taken from, is not the Christianity of Christ. The care of the Truth is the great and first duty of the Society of Christ. She

would be a false bride to Him if she taught what He did not teach. This is so?

“You put it strongly; but yes, you must be right.”

Well, then, the Church must guard against anything which might in any way change that Truth, or bring wrong notions about it into people’s minds.

“Granted: but what has that to do with Latin?”

This to do with it:—a dead language is better for this end than a living one.

“Why so?”

Because the meaning of its words is fixed and cannot alter. Latin, as I said, is dead in one way, but not in another. A dead language is somewhat like those dead bodies of some Saints which still do not corrupt and still the limbs can be bent and moved by others. It is death, but a death which lets you see the exact figure and form of the Saint in life, and the look upon her face—a form and a face and an expression in that face which does not change. As her companions saw her three centuries or more ago so we see her still. Limbs will not grow nor change, and we know that our notion of her is what theirs was so long ago.

“How do you apply this to Latin?”

The meaning of the words cannot change. What Cicero meant when first he spoke the words in the parliament of Rome—what SS. Jerome and Augustine meant and the writers who went before, and came after—that same is meant to-day and will be meant when the world ends. And what an Englishman means by the Latin word, that the Frenchman means, and that same the Italian and the Austrian and the Hindoo student in our colleges and the Japanese who is studying Latin.

“I think I see: but with living languages——”

It is not the same. It is hard to find in some tongues even a word that should express aright the Christian thought of God. It is impossible, as we know, to turn some French words into English, so we take the word bodily and make it our own. To translate from one

tongue to another is the most difficult of tasks. The Truth then, if it were left to be tossed about by a variety of tongues, would be in danger of taking a variety of meanings; and the One Truth of the Church of Christ would take different colours and shapes. Nor is this the only danger; there would be a like difficulty in each of all the countless tongues in the world, for a living tongue, like a living body, grows and changes. They tell us our living body changes once in seven years: our dead Saint neither changes nor corrupts. As with the body so with the living language—it changes. Have you ever tried to read Chaucer? You will find it hard without notes. There are words which have dropped out of use, and words which have changed their sense, or which are getting new senses besides their old ones. So a word which was a true word for a doctrine two centuries ago might be a very bad one now, and give us a thought almost the opposite of truth.

“Give me an instance or two.”

Well, this may do. You object to Catholics worshipping Our Lady?

“Yes, certainly. They must not treat her as God.”

Of course they must not, and they don't. The word “worship” never meant in old times to treat as God. It mostly is taken to mean that now, though even now it is used sometimes in the old sense. When a magistrate is addressed as “Your Worship,” certainly no divine honour is intended. When a bridegroom says to his bride, “With my body I thee worship,” he is far from saying, unless in the high-falutin language of love, that the lady is more than human flesh and blood. And yet, so much has the meaning of the word changed, that you can accuse us to-day of idolatry because we may still use the word “worship” about the honour shown to Our Lady.

Now this change is going on, not in English only, but in the countless languages of the world. Think what danger there might be of changing that Truth which

cannot be changed if the doctrines and devotions of the world's Church were left to be expressed by the changing words of countless tongues! By the use of Latin these doctrines and devotions are embalmed in one **unchanging** tongue—as unchangeable as the doctrine. And hence no wrong idea can be brought by the growth of the language into the first Christianity: and in this we have another reason why Latin is best.

IV.

A dead tongue, then, is better than a living one—vastly better than a variety of living ones—for a world-wide Church, meant equally for all nations:—

Because in all nations equally it helps to guard holy things and holy truths from careless using:

Because it gives a world-language—an universal language—a language such as commerce tried to make for itself in “Volapuk”—for all the teachers in every nation, of the truths most important to man, and for all worshippers in the one grand Act of worship:

Because, if any living tongue were so used to unite men, the Church would seem to favour one race above the rest, and jealousy would spring up:

Because, above all, truths are preserved unchanging in an unchanging tongue—you have seen flies in amber?

“Yes.”

You can see them quite clearly, and the most delicate little bit of them is there quite perfect, and quite perfect it will remain—no change, no corruption. In a living stream, a stream that was still flowing on, larger things than flies would be in danger of destruction or of change; but the amber has ceased to flow, and the smallest atom of the fly's wing will be as now till the world's end: and so it is with Truth, and with a worship which is embalmed in an unchanging tongue. Its meaning can in no way alter nor be corrupted. The very same words, with the very same sense, were used in Rome and over all the Roman Empire for the very same truths well nigh two thousand years ago, and will be used until the death of the great world at the last day.

“But Latin is not the only dead tongue?”

There may be many dead tongues for aught I know—tongues of races which themselves are dead or nearly so, of races that never were in any way world-wide: but there are three world-wide dead tongues, three living-dead tongues, three amber tongues preserving truths.

“They are?”

The Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin ; the three in which the inscription was written above the thorn-crowned Head,—“Jesus of Nazareth the King of the Jews.” Those were the languages chosen to tell the great truth to the whole world ; if anything could make tongues sacred it would be this : Apostolic languages, witnessing to the Truth, and—you will think me fanciful, but if fancy can make Truth plain, it is well to use it—dying there upon the Cross with a death like the death of the Lord to whom they witnessed : a death that yet was to live on, proclaiming truth for ever.

“Were all three languages living then?”

The Hebrew was already dead, used only in the services of the Jewish Church, just as Latin is now in the Catholic Church ; the old Scriptures preserved in it so as not to change were read in the Synagogue and then explained in the living tongue, just as with the Latin now : our Lord Himself and His Mother used a dead language for their worship. So with the Hebrews : but the Greek and Latin were then living—living with a strong life unlikely to die, yet both now by God’s Providence dead : the New Testament and the Old “ambered,”—to coin a word—in an unchanging dead tongue.

It is God’s own hand which has slain those tongues and left His divine truths guarded within them. And now at last I can give full answer to your question, “Why in Latin?” Because Latin is the tongue given to the Church by God Himself. Of all the great empires that conquered nations and joined many in a natural Oneness, Rome, as you know, was by very far the widest : and the tongue of the Roman was Latin. There were no nations then as there are to-day : there was one world, clamped together by the iron arms of force, and one capital city of that world—Rome : and the nations, as we know them now, were split up into tribes—each petty, and each at war with all the rest. And Rome had the great work to do of giving law and knowledge and manners and all that is meant by civilisation to

these wild tribes, and had to take their rude imperfect tongues and fashion each into a language. And so, when the Roman Empire died, leaving many peoples, its living world-wide language died also, leaving many children; so that to-day every tongue of every European nation is formed largely out of Latin. Of the three dead tongues, therefore, Latin is the easiest and nearest to us—our mother tongue, out of which have sprung hosts of our own living words.

Thus, then, each nation learned to speak its own Latin-born tongue: but the Church, which is for all nations and for all times, kept her dead Latin—as the Jews kept their dead Hebrew—as the safest to preserve unchanged the truth already preached and written in it, and yet the easiest for her many peoples to understand. How could she cast away the one tongue through which she had converted her peoples; the tongue in which their laws were written; the tongue in which their learning was preserved; the tongue above all in which undying Truth had been taught by her saints, and a never-ceasing Worship had for centuries gone up to God?

And this is “Why in Latin.” Because Latin was the language of Europe, and because Europe has spread itself the world over; and while, as we have said, a dead language is for many reasons the best tongue to use for world-wide and time-long truths, Latin is the best of the world-wide speeches that have died.

So now you will be content to take the little trouble needed that you may learn Latin enough to join in the Mass, and now and then in Vespers; and you will be content to think that the Church has done wisely to keep her worship in the old undying tongue by which the happy miracle of Whitsunday, undoing the curse of Babel, is in some sense continued.

Go, become a Catholic, and learn, like yonder little lad of ten, to serve Mass in the dear old tongue which was writ for the world to read above the Cross.

MASSES FOR MONEY

BY HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

SOME short time ago an English religious journal of the ultra-Protestant type informed its readers that in consequence of the separation of Church and State in France the price of Masses was rapidly going up, and that pious French Catholics were in despair at the thought that their dead relations would now have to work out their full sentence in Purgatory, seeing that the usual ticket-of-leave had become so ruinously expensive. I have not the reference by me, and I cannot be sure of the exact words, but this was the drift of the paragraph in question. Whether it was founded upon any echo of what is, apparently, a fact, that the approved stipend for Masses has lately been raised in several French dioceses, or whether it was pure facetiousness of the kind dear to the Protestant Alliance and their supporters in the press, need not concern us here. The utterance may, in any case, serve as a peg upon which to hang a little discussion of the question of offerings for Masses. It is a subject upon which those within, as well as those without, the Church not infrequently find a difficulty, and this may serve as sufficient excuse for the following simple statement of a few principles and a few historical facts, none of which can make any pretence to novelty in themselves.

The difficulty just referred to generally takes one or more of these three forms. People feel shocked :

(1) That there should be, or appear to be, any recognition of a money equivalent for the offering of the Holy Sacrifice.

(2) That there should exist considerable diversity of usage regarding the stipend expected—so much so, that the honorarium paid for a single Mass in England or America would, in certain foreign countries, suffice to secure the offering of three or four Masses.

(3) That, however low the stipend, the poor are always enormously at a disadvantage as compared with the wealthy; in other words, that it costs a rich man less of self-sacrifice to have a thousand Masses said for himself and his friends than it does a poor man to have the Holy Sacrifice offered but once.

In the following pages a few words may be said upon each of these objections in order.

With regard to the first issue, the admissibility of any money payment for Masses, it will probably be allowed by fair-minded people that this is after all only a particular application of a much more general principle. Whether a salary should be paid to a chaplain for his services during a twelvemonth, or whether the performance of some special function should be remunerated by its own special fee, is really a matter of convenience and sentiment. We need not urge that sentiment should go for nothing in such a question, but it is reasonable to maintain that sentiment should itself be guided, and in fact usually is guided, by the voice of authority and the practice of high-minded Catholics. However the matter be arranged, it is impossible to avoid some appearance of remuneration and exchange, even though every means be taken to make it clear that the money is not the price of the spiritual service. The natural delicacy which is often felt about such transactions is not at once to be interpreted as the accusing voice of conscience in revolt against flagrant simony. Even in civil life a similar awkwardness is perceptible. We must all recognize the arti-

ficiality of the conventions which obtain regarding a barrister's fees ; neither does the considerate patient require his physician to hold out an expectant palm until there be counted into it the requisite number of sovereigns and shillings. A different code prevails in the consulting-room from that which obtains at the railway booking-office or the shop counter. From all which we may infer that the repugnance which is often felt to the *stipendium manuale* in the matter of Masses or sacraments is due quite as much to the artificiality of modern life as to any deep spiritual instinct.

On the other hand, with regard to the question of principle, the lawfulness of some exchange of temporal support against spiritual service has been upheld from the very beginning of Christianity. It was our Saviour Himself who proclaimed during His public life, *Dignus est operarius cibo suo*—"The labourer is worthy of his meat" ; and if He also laid upon His Apostles the command, *Gratis accepistis date*,—"Freely have ye received, freely give," it seems clear from the later action of these same Apostles that they understood this only as a special counsel of disinterestedness, which was temporary in its nature, and not to be regarded as a universal law. St. Paul's teaching, at any rate, is most explicit :

Who serveth as a soldier at any time at his own charges ? Who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof ? Who feedeth a flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock. . . . If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it great matter if we reap your carnal things ? ²

It is true that St. Paul waives the right in his own case, and prefers to live by the labour of his hands,³ but he is at pains at the same time to point out to the Thessalonians that this is a pure concession on his part, in order that he might "give himself as a pattern" for those sluggards to imitate who were too ready to live on the alms of others. In the case of the Philip-

¹ St. Matt. x. 16.

² 1 Cor. ix. 8-11.

³ Thessal. iii. 6.

prians, where the same motive did not exist, St. Paul accepts their offerings; and in his Epistle to Timothy he goes so far as to approve the principle of some gradation in the offerings of the faithful proportioned to the dignity or merit of the pastor, whose needs they supply:

Let the priests who rule well be esteemed worthy of double honour [the context shows that it is their temporal support which is here in question], especially they who labour in the word and doctrine. For the Scripture saith, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," and "The labourer is worthy of his hire."¹

That the early Christians fully understood, and zealously put in practice, this duty of contributing to the support of their pastors, seems to be clearly shown not only by that community of goods (produce and revenues of all kinds being brought to the Apostles themselves) which we read of in the Acts, but also by such early documents as the *Didache* and the Epistle of Barnabas. In the *Didache* more particularly we read:

But every true prophet desiring to settle among you is worthy of his food; in like manner a true teacher is also worthy, like the workman, of his food.

And the writer goes on to particularize how the first-fruits should be given "of the wine-vat and the threshing floor, of oxen and of sheep," giving expression therein to well-recognized traditions which, if partly of Jewish origin, had nevertheless been explicitly accepted by the earliest Christian teachers. The Fathers of the fourth century echo the same strain, and St. Augustine in particular often returns to the subject. For example:

As for the means of livelihood, it is necessary to receive, just as it is a charity to give; not as though the Gospel were sold for money, and the price paid were the sustenance of those who

¹ 1 Timothy v. 17, 18.

preach it. Surely if they do so sell it, they sell a great matter for a small fee. But let them receive the relief of their necessities from the people, and for the reward of their ministrations let them look to God.¹

It would seem that the maxim *clerici de altario vivant* ("let the clergy live by the altar") was already received before the end of the fourth century as a principle of ecclesiastical law. We shall hardly be wrong if we see a certain significance in the fact that although no money honorarium was then associated with the offering of the Holy Sacrifice, still it is the *altar* which is put forward as the foundation of their claim. Also the burthen seems to have been recognized as one of universal application, not limited to the wealthy. St. Jerome, who, though he had divested himself of his worldly goods to live as a hermit, was not then a priest, writes in such terms as these :

The clergy indeed live by the altar. But for myself I should feel that, like an unfruitful tree, the axe is already laid to the root, if I bring not my gift to the altar. I cannot plead poverty in excuse, since our Lord in the gospel commended the aged widow who dropped into the treasury of the temple the only two mites which remained to her.²

It must be remembered in regard to this phrase, "living by the altar," that in St. Jerome's time and for many centuries afterwards very substantial offerings, more particularly of bread and wine, were made by the faithful, both before and in the course of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. How far these offerings may have been associated with the primitive institution known as *agapæ*, or love feasts, is a matter of dispute.³

¹ St. Augustine, *Sermo De Pastoribus* (in Ezech. c. 34), cap. ii.; Migne, *P.L.*, vol. xxxviii. p. 273.

² St. Jerome, Ep. xiv.—Migne, *P.L.*, vol. xxii. p. 352.

³ See, for example, Dom Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie*; Batiffol, *Études d'Histoire*, etc., Paris, 1902, pp. 279-311; and Funk's comments thereupon in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 1903, pp. 12 ff.

The solution does not much concern us here. What is certain is that in the early Church the faithful brought offerings of bread and wine much in excess of what was actually needed for the Sacrifice, even when all who assisted communicated in both kinds. According to the Apostolic Canons, ears of corn and grapes were also brought to the altar, but all other forms of produce were taken to the residence wherein the Bishop and his clergy lived a sort of community life.¹ To discuss at all adequately the nature of these offerings, and the manner in which they were disposed of, would require much space, for our testimonies are by no means in complete accord. Practice evidently varied considerably in different places and at different periods. Certain facts, however, stand out prominently, and are admitted by all students of early history. For example, in the earlier centuries it was undoubtedly accepted as a principle that all who communicated should also contribute to the Offertory. Those who for any reason neglected to offer were considered to have been guilty of a meanness which was an occasion of scandal to the faithful at large. St. Cyprian, St. Cæsarius of Arles, and other Fathers speak strongly on this subject.² This usage, according to which the faithful contributed bread and wine in considerable quantities, far, of course, exceeding the needs of the actual Sacrifice, was maintained for several hundred years. The *Ordines Romani*

¹ See Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, vol. i. p. 564. Oil for the lamp, and incense, might be offered during Mass.

² See, for example, St. Cyprian's *De Opere et Eleemosynis* cap. 15, when addressing a rich widow, he says: "Locuples et dives dominicum celebrare te credis quæ corban omnino non respicis, quæ in dominicum sine sacrificio venis, quæ partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit sumis?" (Hartel, i. p. 384.) But the practice of limiting the oblation to those only who communicated soon ceased. See the Council of Macon (585), canon 4, where it is enjoined that all men and women should bring an oblation to the altar on every Sunday. And cf. Thalhofer, *Liturgik*, vol. ii. pp. 149-153.

of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries supply minute instructions for taking up these offerings of loaves in cloths of white linen, and laying them either upon the altar or upon a special table beside it which was set apart to receive them, and similarly give directions for pouring into a great *amphora*, or flagon the contributions of wine which the faithful brought in their smaller cruets. In illustration of this, we may note in passing an alleged miracle, recorded first in an English document of the eighth century,¹ and attributed to the ardent faith of Pope St. Gregory the Great. When celebrating the Holy Mysteries on one occasion, a woman presented a loaf in the usual way at the Offertory. When the time had come for the Communion, and St. Gregory was distributing the Consecrated Bread to the faithful, saying to each, almost as the priest does now, "May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve thy soul,"² he noticed a woman who, when about to receive her portion, laughed irreverently. The Saint withheld the morsel proffered, bade it be laid upon the altar, and taking a convenient moment afterwards, summoned the scoffer, and asked her the cause of her mirth. "To think," she said, "that you should call that the Body of Christ which I myself this morning baked with my own hands." St. Gregory, we are told, bade his people kneel and pray in common accord that Almighty God, by some prodigy, might vindicate the reality of these Holy Mysteries. When the prayer was concluded, he took up from the altar the portion of the Sacred Bread which had been placed there, and lo! on showing it to the woman and the people, it was found to be in the likeness of human flesh dripping with blood. The woman deplored her sinful doubt, and when once again prayer had been made by all the

¹ The *Vita Antiquissima S. Gregorii*, edited a few years back by Abbot Gasquet from the St. Gall MS., 567.

² "*Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi conservet animam tuam.*" See Gasquet, *ibid.*, p. 24.

assembly, the morsel was found to have returned to the appearance of bread, and was received by her in Holy Communion, now with earnest faith.¹

Of the large offerings of bread and of wine which were presented by the people at the public Masses of the early centuries, a certain portion was used in the Holy Sacrifice, a certain portion was blessed and distributed as *eulogiae* to those who did not communicate (I am, of course, speaking now of the times when Communion had ceased to be universal); but by far the greater part was regarded as given to the Church, and was reserved for the needs of the clergy and of the poor. Already in the so-called "Canons of the Apostles" (a sort of Appendix to the "Apostolical Constitutions," and consequently a document of the fourth century), it is laid down in regard of these gifts offered at the altar "that the Bishop and the priests must assign their proper share to the deacons and the inferior clergy." This no doubt was the arrangement followed so long as some sort of community life was observed by all the ecclesiastical order, but in course of time the dominion of such offerings was no longer regarded as vested in the Bishop, but they remained in the hands of the local clergy, a certain contribution being set aside as an episcopal due.² An incident which must be of earlier date than 558 is recorded by St. Gregory of Tours, and throws some light upon the character and destination of the gifts made at the Offertory.

It is said [wrote Gregory] that there were two people in this city (Lyons), to wit, a man and his wife, both of them of sena-

¹ Another early document, which bears witness to the practice of offering before Communion, is the *Life of St. Melania the Younger*, recently edited by Cardinal Rampolla. See his *Santa Melania Giuniore*, pp. 261-262.

² See Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, 3rd ed. vol. i. pp. 141 ff., 224 ff., who gives many references. Cf. Geier, *De Missarum Stipendiis*, p. 18, and in particular the first Council of Orange (511) canons 14 and 15; and the Synod of Mainz (847), canon 10.

torial rank, who dying without children, left their property to the Church. The man died first and was buried in the basilica of St. Mary. The wife for a whole year, taking up her abode near the church, devoted herself assiduously to prayer, celebrating daily the Sacrifice of the Mass,¹ and making an offering in memory of her husband. Hence, relying upon the mercy of our Lord that the dead man would experience relief (*requiem*) on the day that she had presented an offering for his soul, she always brought a gallon (*sextarium*) of the wine of Gaza² to the sanctuary of the holy basilica. But an unprincipled subdeacon, reserving the wine of Gaza for his own gluttony, put some exceedingly sour vinegar into the chalice in its stead, since the woman did not always herself come up for Communion. Now when it pleased God to bring this trickery to light, the husband appeared to the wife saying, "Alas! alas! my dear wife, what has all my hard work in the world come to, that I should now supply vinegar for the offering?" To whom she answered: "In good sooth, husband, I have never forgotten the lesson of thy charity, but every day for the repose of thy soul I have offered the strongest wine of Gaza in the sanctuary of my God." However, when she awoke, wondering at this vision and not allowing herself to forget it, she rose as she was accustomed to do to attend Matins. When these were over and Mass had been said, she came up to receive the lifegiving Cup, and thereupon she drank from the chalice a draught of vinegar so acid that she thought her teeth would have been wrenched out of her head if she had imbibed the draught slowly. In this way the subdeacon was rebuked and his scandalous trickery was put a stop to.³

The story is interesting, because it shows pretty clearly what indeed we know otherwise—that the wine used for the Communion of the laity was consecrated in a separate chalice from that used by the priest; and what more particularly concerns us here, we may discern the beginnings of the practice of making special offerings that the Mass may be celebrated for a private

¹ "Celebrans cotidie missarum solemnna." A note in the edition of Arndt and Krusch says, without further reference or discussion, that "even a layman may be said *celebrare missam* if only he be present at the Mass." It seems much more natural to take *celebrans* as a causal—"getting Masses said."

² It is plain from other references of the same period that the wine of Gaza in Palestine was greatly esteemed.

³ Gregory of Tours, *In gloria Confessorum*, cap. 64; "Monumenta Germaniæ," SS. *Merovingici*, i. p. 786.

intention. This, as all admit, was a custom which gradually established itself in the early Middle Ages. Mabillon is inclined to assign its introduction to the eighth century, but a good many suggestive examples of the same kind have been quoted by Binterim¹ and others from an earlier date. It is difficult, for example, to give any other interpretation to the story told by St. Epiphanius of a certain convert patriarch, who brought a sum of gold, and putting it into the Bishop's hands, said to him, "Offer for me,"² more especially when we have regard to the technical character of the word (πρόσφερε), which we translate by "offer."

So far as we can trace the history, the payment of a sum of money in lieu of the bread, wine, wax, oil, milk, or the fruits of the earth, of which the offerings originally consisted, only developed slowly. Not improbably, the change began in connection with the Masses for the dead; for in these, as there was commonly no Communion of the faithful, the offering of bread and wine seems not to have been made in some localities; and we find indications already in St. Augustine's time of a tendency to substitute a payment of coin, a substitution which does not seem altogether to have met the Saint's approval.³ The general introduction of an alms in money cannot safely be assigned to an earlier date than the tenth or eleventh century, for even the passages in the Rule of Chrodegang or Walafrid Strabo,⁴ which are generally appealed to, do not speak explicitly of coin. On the other hand, it is certain that from a very early date the claim of benefactors to a special share in the fruits of the Mass was quite clearly recognized. In

¹ Binterim, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, vol. iv. part 3; and *cf.* for example, the 14th decree of the Council of Merida (A.D. 666), in Mansi, *Concilia*, xi. 83.

² Epiphanius, *Hæreses*, 30, n. 6.

³ St. Augustine, *Ep.* 22, *Ad Aurclium*, § 6; *Vienna Corpus Scriptorum*, vol. xxxiv. pp. 58, 59.

⁴ *Regula Chrodegangi*, c. 32; Walafrid Strabo, *De Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. xxii. Migne, *P.L.*, vol. cxiv. p. 948.

the primitive Roman liturgy they were twice commemorated—once in general, and once by the explicit mention of their names ; and this usage was perpetuated by the diptychs in which the names of benefactors were written down either to be read aloud from the pulpit, or at least to be laid upon the table of the altar during the Holy Sacrifice.

It was natural to pass from these principles to the full recognition of the system of foundations for Masses, or chantries, as they were called at a later date. Even in Merovingian times, as Mabillon has shown, estates were given or bequeathed to provide maintenance for a body of Religious or priests, whose principal duty was to sing (*i.e.*, chant the Office and offer Mass) for the souls of their benefactors. In the beginning, such foundations were generally vested in a community, and no very precise conditions were prescribed as to the number of Masses to be said, or the solemnities with which they were to be accompanied. Later it became common to endow a particular chapel or altar with a revenue sufficient to support a single priest, who, in return for these emoluments, was required to celebrate Mass frequently or even daily at this particular altar.

Concurrently with this there grew up the practice of the "Mass-penny," an offering which about the twelfth and thirteenth centuries almost entirely replaced the older form of oblation in bread and wine. This offering of the Mass-penny seems to have been represented as voluntary,¹ but those who contributed in this way clearly regarded themselves as having a special share in the fruits of the Mass. We need not hesitate to admit that the custom led in some exceptional cases to abuses of a serious kind,² and that the whole practice was hotly attacked by the Lollards. For example, that

¹ "Offer or leve whether thee list," *i.e.*, make an offering or leave it alone, whichever you please. (*Lay Folk's Mass-book.*)

² See Giraldus Cambrensis, *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, p. 281 ff., and Peter the Chanter's *Verbum Abbreviatum*.

fierce satire upon the Friars which passed under the name of *Jacke Upland*, puts such a question as the following :

Freer, when thou receivest a penie
for to say a masse,
pritheest thou God's Bodie for that penie,
or thy praier, or els thy travell [*i.e.*, trouble] ?
If thou saiest thou wolt not travell
for to say the masse but for the penie,
then certes, if this be sooth,
thou lovest too little meed for thy soul.¹
And if thou sellest God's Bodie, or thy prayer,
then is it very simonie ;
thou art become a chapman worse than Judas
That sold it for thirtie pence.²

This passage may help to bring us back to the main question, from which our historical review of the subject has in some measure distracted us. Clearly, from the very beginning, the Church has vindicated the principle that the acceptance of temporal offerings to secure a decent maintenance for the priest, and in this way to enable him to devote himself more freely to his priestly work, is no simony, but a lawful adaptation of means to ends, which our Saviour Himself has sanctioned. St. Thomas Aquinas, in the *Summa*, lays down the theological principles of the question with perfect clearness. Under the heading, "Is it always unlawful to give money for the sacraments?" the great Doctor writes as follows :

The Sacraments of the New Law are pre-eminently spiritual things, seeing that they are the cause of spiritual grace. This grace has not a money price, and, indeed, it is inconsistent with its essential notion that it should not be given gratuitously.³ The dispensation, however, of the sacraments takes place through the ministers of the Church, and these last ought to be supported

¹ *I.e.*, thou lovest heavenly rewards ("meed for thy soul") too little.

² Wright, *Political Poems and Songs* (Rolls Series), ii. p. 23, spelling slightly modernized.

³ The word *gratia* (grace) is of course etymologically identical with *gratis* (gratuitously).

by the people, according to the Apostle's words: "Know you not that they who work in the holy place eat the things that are of the holy place; and they that serve the altar partake with the altar? So also God ordained that they who preach the Gospel should live by the Gospel.¹" Thus, then, we must say that to take money—and by money is understood everything that has a money price—for the spiritual grace of the sacraments would be the crime of simony, which no custom can excuse, because custom avails not to the prejudice of natural or Divine law. But to take something for the sustenance of those who administer the sacraments of Christ, when it is done according to the ordinance of the Church and approved customs, is not simony or any sin, for it is not taken as a price of merchandise (*pretium mercedis*), but as a contribution to relieve necessity (*stipendium necessitatis*).²

And here St. Thomas appeals to an already quoted passage of St. Augustine.³ Moreover, when referring more particularly to the Mass, "for saying which certain priests receive a benefice, or money," he observes that "this money is not accepted as the price of consecrating the Holy Eucharist or of celebrating Mass (for this would be simony), but simply as a contribution (*stipendium*) to the priest's support."⁴

The principle being thus established—and it may be added that this principle is sanctioned by the action of every religious body, Christian or Pagan—the only question which remains is that as to the suitability of this particular expedient for attaining the end in view. Is it desirable to levy what is practically speaking a tax upon Masses said for private intentions? To this, in the first place, it may be replied that the Church has

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 13, 14.

² St. Thomas, *Summa Theologica*, 2 2, 100, 2, c.

³ *Sermo De Pastoribus*, cap. ii.

⁴ Scherer, *Handbuch des Kirchenrechts*, ii. p. 654, observes that the older and more correct designation for the Mass offerings was *eleemosynae*, or *oblaciones*, adding that *stipendium* is not found in the text of the *Coupus Juris*. St. Thomas's preference for the use of the word *stipendium* rather takes the point out of this remark.

for long ages past approved the custom, and by constant legislation has kept abuses in check. The very terms in which two General Councils, the fourth of Lateran and that of Trent, have condemned all greed and all appearance of traffic in exacting offerings for Masses, imply a recognition of the system according to which such offerings are commonly made. The whole matter is fully discussed in the treatise, *De Synodo Diœcesana*, of Pope Benedict XIV. ; and the task of determining the proper stipend is there declared to rest most properly with the Bishop in Synod.¹

But, further than this, it is easy to discover a certain appropriateness in attaching such contributions to the saying of Mass for a private intention. Complaint might more easily be made if a fee were required from all who wished to confess their sins, to receive Holy Communion, or to assist at the Holy Sacrifice. These are the ordinary channels of grace, and it would be a hardship indeed if they were inaccessible to the poor except after payment. But the application of Mass to a private intention is in some sense a spiritual luxury. Moreover, the priest who offers the Mass in this way is not only conferring upon an individual a favour to which, apart from the stipend, he has no strict claim in justice ; but in most cases the priest, at some trouble to himself, is discharging a function to which he is not otherwise obliged. We have come to think daily Mass so much a part of the life of Catholics that it is difficult to realize that there have been long periods in the Church's history when priests who said Mass more than once a week were regarded as exceptionally devout. It was probably during these ages that the custom of making a special offering in money first came to establish itself. We may assume that it has been continued until our own days because it has been found a fairly simple and convenient form of contribution to the support of

¹ *De Synodo*, lib. v. cap. 8, § 11.

the ministers of the altar, and because no sufficient reason has presented itself for substituting any other system in its place.

The second objection of which I spoke at the beginning of this pamphlet concerns the variations in the amount of the stipend exacted for a Mass in different localities. In England and America this stipend is relatively high. Abroad, as a rule, it is much lower, and it may readily be conceded that this divergence leads in practice to certain anomalies which, when stated in terms analogous to those of secular commerce, can easily be made to look ridiculous. And yet a very little reflection will make it apparent that some difference of tariff between one country and another is absolutely inevitable; and once it is admitted that uniformity cannot be attained, the question of more or less does not seem to be a matter of very great importance. In the treatise *De Synodo*, referred to above, Pope Benedict XIV. remarks that it was a very wise provision of the Congregation of the Council, which has left it to the Bishop of each diocese to determine the amount of the stipend which should be offered for a Mass, for, he says,

No universal law can be laid down in such a matter, seeing that the alms ought to vary in accordance with the circumstances of different places and periods, and more especially according to the abundance or dearth in the supply of the necessities of life.

It is stated by many authors that a standard for determining the proper amount of the stipend is furnished by the sum which is necessary to enable the priest to live decently for one day in his ordinary surroundings. No doubt there are those who argue, and fairly enough, that the Mass occupies but a small proportion of the priest's working hours, and that consequently to regard the Mass as the equivalent of an entire day's work is excessive. Still even these do

not dispute the soundness in principle of adopting the cost of a day's maintenance as the most convenient measure for an estimate. Now if this be conceded, it must at once be apparent that a priest in South Africa, where sixpence is practically the lowest sum for which the most trifling thing can be purchased, may fairly look for a larger alms, when asked to say Mass, than a priest in poverty-stricken Italy, where half a lira can be made to go a long way. But there is also something else to be said. In countries where the clergy directly or indirectly are endowed, the stipend for Masses is generally low. The priest can live otherwise. He does not look to that for his support. Insensibly this creates a certain tariff and a public opinion; and such things once established, changes cannot easily be introduced, even though they be judged in themselves desirable. In this country, priests, as a rule, have no assured source of income. The Bishops, accordingly, have tacitly, if not explicitly, accepted the view already mentioned, according to which a priest may reasonably expect such an offering for his Mass, when applied for a particular private intention, as would decently maintain him for one day. Of course it may reasonably be argued that a priest has other sources of income besides this, but then it must also be remembered that there are comparatively few priests who are so beset by requests for Masses that all their free days are occupied.

Further, once the standard is fixed, both Bishops and priests, for very intelligible reasons, prefer that it should be generally adopted throughout the diocese. The principle of competition—say, for example, if the Religious Orders were to seem to be underselling the secular clergy—at once introduces a disedifying suggestion of trafficking in sacred things. Consequently it has been ruled that a Bishop may, if he think fit, require all the priests in his diocese, seculars and regulars alike, to accept no stipend less than the amount which has

been determined upon.¹ On the other hand, no one may demand more than this sum for an ordinary Mass,² though what is freely given as a pure alms over and above the normal stipend may be accepted. Again, any kind of trafficking in the *honoraria* for Masses, such as, for example, would result if a priest accepting an alms for ten Masses given him here in England were to have them said abroad at the rates which obtain in France or Italy, keeping the balance for himself—all such trafficking as this, be it noted, is forbidden under the very severest penalties. If a priest, after accepting the stipend for a Mass, cannot say it himself, he is bound in passing it on to be celebrated by another priest, to transfer to this latter the whole of the stipend which he received. The legislation upon all these subjects during the last four centuries has been very comprehensive, and every avenue seems to have been stopped by which serious abuses could enter.³

Lastly, a few words may be said upon the question of the poor, and upon the seemingly unequal conditions under which they find themselves with regard to all these spiritual privileges. We may freely own that the existence of this inequality, at any rate so far

¹ Of course priests are always free to say Mass gratuitously for whom they wish, and more Masses are said in this way for the poor than would be readily supposed. But naturally a priest has no temptation to advertise his good deeds of this kind.

² I am excluding, of course, Masses said with solemnity or at a special hour and place, in which cases, owing to the trouble involved, it is a generally accepted principle that a larger stipend should be asked. There is generally some kind of tariff for these things also approved by the Bishop.

³ A long and important decree of a very strict character emanated from the Sacred Congregation of the Council in 1904; and there have been other supplementary pronouncements since. A summary of the provisions of the former measure may be found in the late Father Taunton's *Law of the Church*. See also Dolhagaray, "Le Trafic des honoraires des Messes" in the *Revue des Sciences Ecclésiastiques*, September, 1901, pp. 224 ff., and the *Archiv f. kat. Kirchenrecht*, 1893, pp. 268-270.

as such a matter can be judged by what meets the outward eye, is not to be disputed. But then does it not also extend to the whole range of spiritual privileges of every kind? It is, as a rule, only the comparatively wealthy who have time for such luxuries as retreats, pilgrimages, and multitudinous services, not to speak of the private oratories, the beautiful objects of piety, the pictures and crucifixes, the stimulating religious books, the Papal blessings, the free access to a helpful confessor, and many other things. Indeed the rich seem to be favoured, not only in the luxuries, but in the very essentials of religion, for surely the landowner, with his oratory and private chaplain, has, *ceteris paribus*, a better chance of obtaining the last Sacraments than the poor labourer who dies, with hardly a soul to wait upon him, upon the sixth floor of a tenement building. Even after death the law *habenti dabitur* seems still to hold, for the wealthy have many friends to ask prayers for them. Alms are sent to this religious house and to that, and the good monks and nuns, with real gratitude in their hearts, respond loyally by offering up Communion and penances for their benefactor. In such a long catalogue the thousands of Masses that may be said are but an item. Whatever answer is to be found to the difficulty, it can hardly be this—that the system of saying Masses for alms is an abuse, and that we must strive to bring about a state of things in which the rich shall enjoy no advantage over the poor in having the Holy Sacrifice offered for their private intentions. It is by God's ordinance that equality of spiritual goods here below is almost as much an impossibility as equality of temporal goods. Hence the only real solution is to believe that there is a court of equity in the next world, which, in ways that Almighty God has not revealed to us, somehow adjusts these differences.

But in the meantime we may note two things: first, that every priest who has the cure of souls is bound on all the greater festival days to offer Mass for his parish-

ioners, excluding all private intentions. This is a strict obligation. It has been again and again insisted on by ecclesiastical authority in the course of long centuries, and the very greatest difficulty is made in allowing any dispensation or relaxation of this duty. Secondly, there is hardly anything of which we know less, as theologians themselves confess, than of all that concerns the application of the "fruits" of the Mass. It is a common opinion that the Holy Souls in Purgatory are only up to a certain point susceptible of help; what satisfactions are offered for them over and above that limited capacity are perhaps communicated, as we may piously believe, to those that are most destitute or most forgotten. It cannot even be said with absolute certainty that the offering of a single Mass for a dozen different intentions may not help forward each one of those intentions as fully as if a separate Mass were said for each. No doubt the practice of pious Catholics implies a contrary view, and the practice of pious Catholics is, as a rule, a sound indication of right faith, and an example which ought not easily to be departed from. But with regard to all these things, strictly speaking, we have no certainty beyond the single fact that the offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass is helpful to the souls of those who are not yet in the enjoyment of the Vision of God. Moreover, as St. Thomas, who discusses the whole difficulty with his usual straightforwardness,¹ frankly allows, there is no difficulty about admitting that the rich may be in a better position as regards the mere expiation of their heavy debt to the Divine Justice. The fact still remains that the Kingdom of Heaven belongs of especial right to the poor²; which means, no doubt, that they more readily find entrance there, and that their beatitude, when they reach it, is proportionately greater.

¹ In *Lib. Sent.*, Bk. iv. Dist. xlv. q. 2, Art. iv. ad 3.

² *ſt.* Luke vi. 20.

Further, when we read the terribly strong things which are said of the rich in Holy Scripture, no doubt can be felt that these passages have reference, not to the instability of their future in this world, but to the severe judgement that awaits them in the next. There is nothing to suggest that the rich man clothed in purple and fine linen, who hardened his heart against Lazarus, saw any reason to change his conduct until death at last opened his eyes. His very desire to warn his brethren implies that his blindness to the nature of the penalties which he had been heaping up against himself was real enough. Again, whatever may be the precise significance of that solemn warning recorded by three of the Evangelists regarding the camel and the eye of a needle, the form in which it occurs in St. Matthew, who speaks of "entering into the Kingdom of Heaven," strongly suggests that our Lord's thought was concentrated upon the fate of the rich in the next world.¹ And the same lesson breathes in that passage of St. Luke (vi. 24-25): "Woe to you that are rich: for you have your consolation. Woe to you that are filled: for you shall hunger. Woe to you that now laugh: for you shall mourn and weep."

There seems no evading the conclusion that in the life to come the present order of things will pass away and the position will be reversed. The poor will be judged with all the leniency imposed by their unavoidable ignorance, their temptations, and their lack of opportunities, while the expiation which they have already made by a life of toil and constant privation will leave a comparatively slender account still to be rendered. But the rich who have denied themselves nothing, who have suffered little and worked

¹ "Then Jesus said to His disciples, 'Amen I say to you, that a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say to you, it is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven.'" Matt. xix. 22-24.

even less, those especially who have steeled their hearts against those impulses of comradeship and charity which so often ennoble the destitution of the very poor, will have all their atonement still before them. The hundred talents must needs be paid to the uttermost farthing. Though Masses be offered in plenty, and though the sufferer most earnestly desire them as a priceless boon, it may be feared that the alleviation they bring will often be analogous to that described in the terribly vivid picture which our Saviour Himself has painted of the sufferings of Dives : " Father Abraham, have mercy on me, and send Lazarus that he may dip the tip of his finger in water to cool my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame." A sensible alleviation, no doubt, and worthy of all gratitude as the best that the most devoted Christian charity upon this side the veil can offer ; but nevertheless an alleviation that serves only to throw into relief the unfathomable mysteries of God's justice, and the miserable state of those who leave the reckoning to be paid where suffering is no longer meritorious. If this be at all a true picture of the lot of the majority of the rich who make their expiation in Purgatory, can we find it in our hearts to grudge them the benefit which they may derive from the Masses that they owe to the charity of their wealthy friends ? Often enough they have no other asset.

APPENDIX

As an illustration of the solicitude with which this matter of stipends for Masses is watched over by the Holy See, a summary may here be given of portions of two lengthy enactments of comparatively recent date. At the same time, this must not be regarded as new legislation. The principles clearly laid down in the decrees of the Council of Trent (session xxii. cap. 9), and in the *De Synodo Diœcesana* of Pope Benedict XIV. (lib. ii. cap. 8, 9, and 10, and lib. xiii. cap. 25), are here applied, emphasized, and developed.

The first decree, emanating from the Sacred Congregation of the Council, and dated 11th May, 1904, prescribes, *inter alia* :—

That no priest ask for or accept stipends for Masses unless he is morally certain that he can say the Masses within a fixed time ; ordinarily he is bound to say the Masses thus accepted personally, unless he be a Bishop or prelate who has under him persons upon whom he can impose this obligation.

The time within which a Mass for which a stipend has been accepted should ordinarily be said, is *one month*, or six months when a hundred Masses are requested, and in similar proportion for larger numbers.

No person is allowed to accept at one time a larger number of stipends than he can probably satisfy within a year from the date of acceptance, unless with the explicit consent of the people who offer the stipend.

Any bargain or compact to say Masses in exchange for books or periodicals, which makes a sort of traffic in holy things, is forbidden, and in a similar way all stipulations for custom or service, or engagements entered into with purveyors of vestments or church furniture, in which the saying of Masses is a condition,

are equally prohibited. This applies likewise to those arrangements sometimes proposed by the guardians of shrines, according to which they agree to devote a part of the offerings of the faithful to having Masses said, and the remainder to other pious uses. The Sacred Congregation forbids all such compacts, however laudable their purpose may be.

The penalty for a violation of the prescriptions contained in the last paragraph is suspension *ipso facto*, reserved to the Holy See, in the case of clerics, and excommunication, reserved to the bishop, in the case of lay persons.

The amount of the stipend for Masses attached to certain beneficiary institutes is in all cases to be that fixed by the regular diocesan statute. Hence the often assumed interpretation, by which the stipends in legacies for Masses are enlarged beyond the usual amount, is not lawful without some express warrant in the terms of the will.

Later, on 22nd May, 1907, the same Congregation issued another decree confirming the previous legislation and throwing the responsibility in a large measure upon the bishops, the local ordinaries, to see that its provisions were strictly carried out. In particular, stress was laid upon the necessity of maintaining absolutely inviolate the principle, over and over again affirmed in the prescriptions of the Canon Law, that the stipend for a Mass must be passed on without any diminution to the priest by whom the Mass is actually to be said, and appointing measures of precaution to be taken against the danger that Masses might be forgotten, or too long deferred, for which the offerings of the faithful have already been given.

Finally, it may be noticed that all these prescriptions have been reaffirmed and promulgated in the most authoritative form in the new *Codex of the Canon Law*, issued by Pope Benedict XV in 1917; see especially §§ 824-844.

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The Spanish Inquisition

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“THE Spanish Inquisition” is still an effective cry whenever it is wished to arouse prejudice against the Catholic Church and her children. It is true the cry is not quite as effective now as it was a few decades ago. There has been of late days much more fusion between Catholics and others in the various walks of life, and our fellow-countrymen have come to know us well, both our clergy and our laity, and have been able to judge for themselves what manner of men we are. They do not find us to be of harsher temperament than themselves, less fond of liberty, or less respectful of the due rights of others. And so when reminded of the Inquisition, although perhaps accepting the popular account of its cruelties as unquestionable fact, they prefer to treat the past as history and judge of the present by the present.

It is consoling to mark this increasing disposition to give us credit for what we are. There is certainly no desire anywhere among us to have renewed the harsh methods and punishments of the Spanish Inquisition. But we will go further and claim that the Spanish Inquisition itself was never the horrible thing it is represented in Protestant literature as having been. Let the reader understand exactly the position we take up. We are far from inviting a judgement of acquittal on all its proceedings. We maintain only that the bad name it has acquired in popular estimation is due largely to the gross exaggerations of those who have written against it

in an adverse sense, and to the neglect to view it in relation with the notions and methods everywhere current in the days of its existence.

What then are the charges against this tribunal ? They may be summarized as follows. It treated beliefs contrary to the established creed, even though conscientious, as crimes of the first magnitude. It punished offenders with the most cruel punishment of fire, and went so far in its inhumanity as to make their dying agonies a religious spectacle for the entertainment of "the faithful," the very Kings, surrounded by brilliant Courts, presiding over the *autos da fé** ("acts of faith") at which the condemned were delivered to the flames. In the excess of its thirst for heretical blood it did not hesitate to sacrifice whole hecatombs in this way ; and in order that the number of victims might not run short, it instituted a grossly unfair judicial procedure whereby the accused person had hardly a chance of rebutting the charges against him. The names of his accusers, often his personal enemies, were concealed from his knowledge, and the services of a skilled advocate whom he could trust to act in his interests were denied him. On the other hand, he was submitted to repeated tortures in loathsome cells, until, unable longer to endure the agony, he was driven to disregard future consequences and seek present relief by a confession of guilt, truthful or feigned. Lastly, to intensify the terror of the tribunal throughout the country, arrests were made with the utmost secrecy, and by secret officials, called "familiars" of the court. These mysterious beings would lie in wait for their victim at some unobserved spot, or they would enter his house stealthily under the cover of the darkness,

* The Spanish phrase is *auto de fé*. *Auto da fé* is Portuguese, from which nation therefore we must have originally obtained the word,

and carry him from his very bed to their underground dungeons. When the family rose in the morning one cherished member was missing. Wife or children might suspect what had happened, but there was no remedy. Probably they would never see him again except once, and then tied to the burning faggot at some future *auto da fé*. It was hardly safe even to mention his name, still less to express regret at his fate. Nor was this all. Should he be convicted, as he was morally certain to be, all his goods would be confiscated, and the family that had been dependent upon him for its maintenance, would be reduced to poverty, as well as branded with perpetual disgrace and suspicion.

Here certainly is a terrible indictment. Well may the people of England shudder at the bare thought of such a system introduced into their free and happy country. But now what are the facts?

It cannot be denied that the doctrine of intolerance was recognized in those days. It was certainly held to be the duty both of the Church and of the State to treat heresy to the Catholic faith as a crime commensurate with treason, and to adopt stringent measures against its propagation. This was a doctrine unquestioned in those days among all parties. Protestants and Catholics alike, in the countries where they had the upper hand, proscribed and punished their opponents. It did not occur to either side that any other course was rational. Surely, they would have said, truth and error are not on equal terms. Truth has rights: it demands to be upheld and promoted. Error has no rights: and is to be repressed and destroyed.

Our Protestant readers will here urge that although this is true, yet there is this difference between Protestantism and Catholicism, that, whilst the former now recognizes the sacred rights of religious liberty, the latter continues to be as

intolerant as ever, and is always itching to persecute. In a certain sense no doubt it is true that Catholics are still and always will be intolerant of error, for their religion is founded on the conviction that God's revelation is not a mere matter of subjective persuasion, but an external fact attested by certain and convincing proofs. No sane person would claim that virtue and vice ought to have equal toleration in the community, and the attitude of manifest truth to manifest error does not differ, in the abstract, in this respect, from the attitude of manifest virtue to manifest vice. If Protestants are, in the abstract, advocates of universal toleration, this is because they do not believe in any objective certainty of religious truth. Creed, for them, is matter of opinion, not of certain knowledge.

But although the two parties are necessarily divided *in theory*, when we compare the same two parties *in their practice*, the balance of intolerance, at least in the present day, and indeed in the past also, would seem to be on the side of Protestants: not indeed of Protestants generally, but of that class of Protestants—Exeter Hall Protestants as they used to be called—who are so fond of flinging the Inquisition in our faces. In old days each party assumed that its opponents were not only in error, but in conscious error. Persecution was supposed and expected to have the effect of making them follow their consciences, not resist them. Nowadays we have come to realize more clearly how differently minds are constituted and how possible it is, in the medley of opposing creeds, not to perceive which out of them all is the truth. This realization is general, and is certainly strongly felt by Catholics who are also moved by other similar considerations to feel a great dislike for all attempts to coerce religious beliefs. The realization seems to be less marked among Protestants of the class just indicated.

Consider, for instance, how often when a man becomes convinced of the duty to turn Catholic, Protestant relations and others have no scruples at all in opposing temporal obstacles of the severest kind in his way. And with this contrast the very great reluctance shown by Catholic priests to receive converts into the Church until they have been well instructed and thoroughly realize what they are about.

These remarks have seemed to be necessary in order to remove a prejudice which might otherwise interfere with a fair hearing of the considerations we have to offer in defence, or rather in extenuation, of the Inquisition. It ought now to be clear that the intolerance shown by this tribunal involves no reflexion on the Catholic Church. Viewed historically, it was intolerance accepted by the age as an obvious duty and accepted by Protestants and Catholics alike. Viewed as a basis of anticipation concerning the future, it cannot be considered to forebode any likelihood of future similar "persecution" of Protestants by Catholics, should the latter, which does not seem likely, return once more to power.

We shall have to confine our attention to the Spanish Inquisition established in the fifteenth century. The Inquisition itself originated as far back as the twelfth century in Southern France, but nowhere and at no time did these Inquisitorial courts indulge in the multitudinous capital convictions chargeable to the later Inquisition in Spain. It is this Spanish Inquisition which has occasioned the popular outcry against the institution, although most Protestants imagine that it was quite as bad in the other Catholic countries. The Roman Inquisition is still existent. As it does not fall within the scope of our subject-matter we must be content to say that all along it was noted for its

comparative mildness, and that at the present day its work is to examine and condemn books and propositions at variance with the Catholic faith.

The Jews had in ancient days been far more numerous and influential in Spain than in any other country, and were even credited with a policy of Judaizing the entire Peninsula. They were accordingly much disliked by the Christian populations, who sought to protect themselves by frequent and stringent repressive laws, ecclesiastical and civil, directed against the enemy. It may be mentioned here incidentally that the Popes, such as Alexander II, the friend of Hildebrand, and Honorius III, are found several times interposing and protesting against the cruel treatment to which the Jews became thus subjected. The race, however, evinced its well-known vitality, and in the fourteenth century had acquired important privileges for the preservation of the status of its members, as well as their admission into some of the primary offices of the Government. The results of the persecution through which they had lived had been, on the other hand, most pernicious in producing a class of Jews who were such at heart, although by open profession they had become Christians. These were in league with the open adherents of their national creed, and were the more dangerous because their machinations against the Catholic religion were carried on in the dark. The extent of the evil may be realized somewhat when it is said that not a few of these secret Jews had risen to high ecclesiastical dignities, some even to bishoprics. These and the like advantages of position, obtained by inter-marriage with noble families and the possession of great wealth, they were unquestionably using, in the latter part of the fifteenth century, with the determined policy of erecting Judaism on the ruins of Spanish Catholicity and nationality. Here was a very serious

danger for the rulers of the country to take into consideration, and they had the clamorous demands of their terrified Christian subjects to urge them on to action. The crisis came when Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile were the reigning monarchs. They met it by establishing the "Spanish Inquisition." It is called by this special name because of its distinctive character. But the older Inquisition had existed in Spain, and had still a staff of officials in the Kingdom of Aragon, not, however, in Castile; although Castile, much more than Aragon, was to be the home of the renewed Inquisition now about to commence its harsh career.

On November 1st, 1478, a Bull was obtained from Sixtus IV empowering the sovereigns, after due examination, to nominate two or three Archbishops and Bishops, or other dignitaries of the Church, who should be secular or regular priests, commendable for their prudence and virtue, at least forty years of age, and of blameless morals, Masters or Bachelors of Theology, Doctors or Licentiates of Canon Law. These Inquisitors were to proceed against heretical Jews and other apostates.* In virtue of this authorization, a tribunal was erected at Seville for the entire Kingdom of Castile, and two Dominicans, Miguel Morillo and Juan Martin, were by royal appointment placed over it as royal inquisitors. After a preliminary season allowed for efforts to gain back the heretics by preaching and persuasion, the work of the tribunal commenced in 1481. It began then, as it invariably began its sessions in any part of the country, by proclaiming a period of grace of sixty or more days, a period often prolonged. All who came forward during such periods and confessed their heresy, even if it were relapse, were reconciled without incurring any severe penance. It is important, now that we

* cf. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. iv, p. 399.

have to consider its doings, to remember that the Inquisition never proceeded against the unconverted Jews, but only against those who after having received Baptism had relapsed, openly or secretly, into Judaism. Such persons were called *Maranos*. In 1483, the famous Torquemada, Prior of the Dominican convent of Segovia, was appointed Grand Inquisitor over the whole of Castile, and shortly after the single court at Seville was supplemented by three others at Cordova, Juan, and Villa-Real (afterwards changed to Toledo). Torquemada held office till 1498, when he was succeeded by Diego de Deza, who in turn gave place to the Franciscan Cardinal Ximenez in 1507.

About twenty years later, the Inquisition, continuing to be employed against the *Maranos*, found another sphere for its activity in the *Moriscos* of Granada. In 1480 war broke out between the Spanish monarchs and the Moors, who having been at one time the dominating race throughout nearly the whole of Spain, still maintained possession of the Kingdom of Granada in the south-east of the Peninsula. The Spaniards conquered after a war of ten years' continuance, the Moors receiving for the time very favourable conditions, which among other things included freedom to retain their national worship. The conquerors did not, however, understand these terms to prevent them from sending Catholic missionaries to preach to their new subjects, and encouraging conversions by the offer of temporal advantages. We are not maintaining that this was a judicious measure. Indeed, experience proved that it was not, that it led to conversions which were far from solid in their character. The immediate effect of the conversions obtained was to excite the anger of the unconverted Moors, who began to persecute the *Moriscos*, as the converted Moors were called. Eventually the

unconverted rebelled, but they were subdued, and then were offered the alternative of either suffering the penalties of treason which they had incurred, or obtaining pardon by passing over to the Christian religion and receiving Baptism. One can understand how this offer could be well-intentioned if only we bear in mind what has been indicated already, that the Spaniards were persuaded that the Moors in resisting the light of Christianity when set before them were resisting the dictates of their consciences. The measure was productive of its natural results, natural as *we* perceive them to be. Many conversions followed, of a more or less imperfectly sincere kind, and afterwards there were continual attempts to apostatize. In fact, the very same difficulty emerged with regard to the Moors and Moriscos which had been felt over the Jews and Maranos ; or rather a worse difficulty, because the two now became fused into one, by the secret sympathy and combined efforts of the two races involved in the same trouble. Hence the application of the Inquisition to the Moriscos (not the Moors) to retain them in the Christian faith. Hefele, however, tells us that it was never employed so extensively or with such severity against the Moriscos as against the Maranos. In 1524 these Moriscos, addressing the newly-appointed Grand Inquisitor, Manriquez, say : " We have always been treated justly by your predecessors, and properly protected by them." Clement VIII forbade the confiscation of their property, or the infliction of capital punishment upon them for apostasy. We may call the campaign of the Inquisition against the Maranos and Moriscos the first stage in its history. It lasted till the middle of the reign of Charles V.

The second stage of importance began some fifty years later during the reign of Philip II. At

this time there was an attempt to introduce Protestantism into Spain, which was resolutely resisted by the Spanish monarchs with the aid of the Inquisition, and Philip, on this account, is wont to be specially identified by Protestants with the cruelties of the tribunal, although they appear to have been less marked in his reign than in the earlier reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. This second period lasted till the accession of the Bourbons, when the danger from Protestantism was held to have passed by. From that time onwards the activity of the tribunal was much diminished, and was confined, says Balmez, to the repression of infamous crimes and the exclusion of the philosophy of Voltaire. By the end of the eighteenth century the Inquisition was a shadow of its former self, and it was abolished at the commencement of the last century, first by the Bonapartist King Joseph, in 1808, and again, after a short resuscitation, on the return of the Bourbons, finally in 1830.

We can now deal with the charges of cruelty against the Inquisition. As already noted, we do not deny that there were abuses and cruelty, but it is none the less true that these charges have been given a unique and exaggerated notoriety owing to either conscious distortion of the facts or a lack of the historical sense on the part of anti-Catholic polemical writers. They have, however, a basis which might seem trustworthy in a book on the Inquisition written near the beginning of last century by one Antonio Llorente. Llorente was a Spanish priest, who, although probably a Freemason, had from 1789 to 1793, been Secretary-General to the Inquisition at Madrid. When Joseph Bonaparte was placed by his brother on the throne of Spain, and the Spanish people rose with patriotic ardour against the usurpation, Llorente joined the small body of anti-patriots called *Afrancesados*. This is

noteworthy, as it reveals the character of the man. On the fall of Joseph he was naturally banished from Spain and took up his residence in Paris. There he wrote his *History of the Inquisition*, with the aid of the official documents he had pillaged from its archives at Madrid whilst he was enjoying the favour of King Joseph. The book is complete in its way; that is to say, it narrates the history of the tribunal from its commencement to its abolition, and gives detailed accounts of the more famous historical processes and *autos da fé*. It is apparent however, on the surface, how the author exaggerates everything that tells against the Inquisition, and misconstrues all that is in its favour, particularly any action taken in regard to it by the Popes; and one has strong suspicions that he must be omitting altogether a great deal which would materially reduce his indictment. But there is one thing full of significance about this writer. He tells us himself, in his work, "I burnt with his (King Joseph's) approbation all the criminal processes, save those which belong to history by their importance or celebrity, or by the quality of the person, as that of Caranza, and of Macanez, and a few others. But I preserved intact the register of resolutions of Council, royal ordinances, bulls and briefs from Rome, and all genealogies," etc.* For such conduct there can be no excuse. As Balmez reasonably demands, "Was there no place to be found in Madrid to place them (the proceedings and documents), where they could be examined by those who, after Llorente, might wish to write the history of the Inquisition from the original documents!" In consequence of this prudent act of barbarism, we are constrained to base our examination of the tribunal almost entirely on the testimony of this biased witness. Still, even under these disadvant-

* iv. 145.

ages, we have the means of rectifying the current Protestant notions. We will now consider one by one the charges against the tribunal enumerated above, not, however, necessarily taking them in the order there given.

As to the number of the victims, Llorente gives the following statistics: In the year 1481, 2,000 burnt and 17,000 penanced; in 1482, 88 burnt and 625 penanced; in 1483, 688 burnt and 5,727 penanced; from 1484 to 1498 (that is, under Torquemada), 6,024 burnt and 66,654 penanced; from Torquemada to the suppression of the tribunal, 23,112 burnt and 201,244 penanced. On Llorente's authority these alarming numbers are invariably adopted by anti-Inquisition writers, whose readers naturally assume that Llorente took them from the official records in his possession. In fact, however, they are mere inferences of a very unreasonable kind from three very slight statements of ancient writers, one of whom he grossly misunderstands. Mariana, as misread by Llorente, is supposed to say that in 1481, the year when the Inquisition commenced its proceedings, 2,000 persons were burnt at the stake, and 17,000 others penanced at Seville alone. Another writer, Bernaldez, is made to say that, also at Seville, from 1482 to 1489 (in reality, he says, from 1481 to 1488), over 700 were burnt and 5,000 penanced. And an inscription on the Quemadero (the platform where the condemned were burnt), at Seville, records that from 1492 to 1524 nearly 1,000 were there burnt, and 20,000 abjured their heresy.

Taking Mariana's supposed statement as it stands, for the year 1481, Llorente calculates from Bernaldez an annual average for the years 1482-1489, and from the Quemadero inscription for the entire remainder of the Inquisition's duration, making, that is to say, gradual reductions at intervals to

allow for the known growth of leniency as time ran on. These figures by themselves refer only to the one court at Seville. To obtain figures for the other courts, added in course of time, he multiplies those for Seville, after having with a show of generosity, first halved them. Can anything be more untrustworthy than such a computation, assuming, as it does, that the multiplication of tribunals within the same area of jurisdiction involves a corresponding multiplication of condemned persons, and that the number of condemnations has preserved a calculable average through centuries? Nor is this the only vice. Mariana does not say 2,000 were burnt at Seville in 1481. If he did, he would contradict Bernaldez, since, as we have noticed, Bernaldez includes 1481 in his eight years. Mariana (1592) is in agreement with Pulgar, an earlier writer (1545), who tells us that these 2,000 were burnt during Torquemada's entire time (1484-1498), and that, not in Seville only, but in the various places to which his activity extended.

Mr. Legge, a non-Catholic writer in the *Scottish Review* (April, 1891), has adjusted Llorente's calculations to this rectified reading of Mariana, and his figures may be set down with advantage for comparison with those just given. In 1481, 298 burnt and 5,960 penanced; in 1482, 88 burnt and 625 penanced; in 1483, 142 burnt and 2,840 penanced; from 1484 to 1498, 2,000 burnt and 40,000 penanced. That is, from 1481 to 1498, 2,528 burnt and 49,425 penanced, against Llorente's 8,800 burnt and 90,006 penanced. From 1498 onwards, having no means at hand of testing them, Mr. Legge gives a sceptical adhesion to Llorente's figures. Still, even Mr. Legge, though not adverting to Llorente's mistake of a year in his citation of the passage in Bernaldez, has not reduced these initial

facts to their true proportion. The year 1481, according to Llorente's system, being the inaugural year of the Inquisition, must claim to itself a very large proportion of the 700 which Bernaldez assigns to the period (1481-8). This would reduce the annual average for the years following from Llorente's (and Mr. Legge's) 88 to about 40, and would involve a consequent reduction in the annual average for subsequent years at Seville and elsewhere.

We have, however, to bear in mind that inferences like these, deducing the criminal statistics of many districts and many centuries from one to two slight data appertaining to a place and time of exceptional severity, are most hazardous. To what extent this is true, will be the better felt if we make a similar inference from a few chance criminal statistics referring to our own country. Hamilton's *History of Quarter Sessions from Elizabeth to Anne*,* gives us the gaol returns at Exeter for 1598. In this year the total result of the two assizes and four quarter-sessions was the hanging of 74 persons, many for crimes no greater than sheep-stealing. Starting from these facts Sir James Stephen† gathers that, "if the average number of executions in each county were 20, or a little more than a quarter of the number of capital sentences in Devonshire in 1598, this would make 800 executions a year in the 40 English counties." That is 11,200 in 14 years against Torquemada's 2,000 (or 6,024), in the same period, and some reduction on 264,000 executions in a period of 330 years, the duration of the Inquisition in Spain, against Llorente's 23,112 burnt and 201,244 penanced by this tribunal within that time.

Mr. Legge provides, in the article referred to, another instance very much in point, since it deals

*p. 31. †*History of the English Criminal Law*, i. 467.

with an offence kindred to heresy. He cites Mr. Mackay's *Curious Superstitions*,* for a computation that in Scotland from the passing of the Act against witches under Queen Mary, an Act due not of course to her helplessness but to the imperious harshness of John Knox—from this date to the accession of the King James I, 17,000 witches were burnt in Scotland, whilst in England 40,000 supposed witches perished in this way between 1600 and 1680, 3,000 during the Long Parliament which undertook its struggle with the Crown in the cause of civil and religious liberty. It would not do to place too much trust in these numbers. Mr. Mackay is a popular writer, not a historian, and sets down without criticism the figures he finds in ancient authors. It does not seem to occur to him that such authors are merely making wild guesses and in no sense relying on accurate statistics. However, we only require one illustration of wild statistics to set against another. Mr. Legge remarks upon these data that, "even supposing the figures are, as one would fain hope, grossly exaggerated, it would appear that the whole number of Inquisition victims would hardly have afforded the witch-hunters of our own land sport for 50 years." Even when we go further and distrust altogether these inferential statistics, whether in Spain, England, or elsewhere, there seems little doubt that the judicial waste of life in England surpassed that in Spain. Witchcraft, it must be remembered, was an offence which in Spain came under the cognizance of the Inquisition, as did many other offences, partaking to a greater or less degree of a religious character, which did not amount to heresy.

The next charge we have to deal with is the mode of execution employed by the Inquisition. The punishment of fire seems to us cruel and revolting.

* i. 237.

We moderns cannot tolerate the idea of its infliction on any class of offenders. But this was not the feeling of our ancestors, who were undoubtedly, and regrettably, far sterner and harsher than their descendants, yet are not on that account to be condemned *en masse* as a generation of savages. There is plenty of proof that they had tender hearts like our own. The truth is that human nature is so one-sided. We moderns fix our attention on the acuteness of human pain, and perhaps forget somewhat the gravity of crime. The ancients realized less the throbbings of pain in the criminal's body, as indeed they were less impatient of it in their own, but they realized more the outrage of his guilt, and aimed by their severities at preventing its recurrence. Moreover, it would be a great mistake to suppose that the Inquisition alone is responsible for execution by fire. Witches were punished at the stake in England, Germany, etc. and it was not only to ecclesiastical offences that this mode of death was allotted. It was also the English punishment for high treason, in the case of a woman, or if she murdered her husband. In the Carolina, a code drawn up by the Emperor Charles V in 1532, and considered to be an innovation in the direction of greater leniency towards criminals, it is the punishment for circulating base coin and other offences. In France, too, it was in use for certain civil crimes, among others for poisoning. We have also to remember that ancient justice knew of harsher modes of death even than the stake. On the Continent there was the revolting punishment of the wheel, to which the body of the criminal was tied with tight cords, and where, his bones having been broken by severe blows, he was left to linger in his agonies for hours or days, as the case might be, till death came to release him. This was quite a common punishment for simple murder in France

till the time of the Revolution. It was in use in Protestant Prussia as late as 1841. Nor has England any cause to boast of her greater mildness. The punishment for high treason was, to be drawn on the hurdle from the prison to the gallows, to be hanged for a while, to be cut down while still living, to undergo a shocking mutilation, and to have the bowels torn out and burnt before the victim's face. His heart was then pulled out and cast into the fire, his body quartered and beheaded, and the parts exposed in five different places to be the food of the birds. In the time of Henry VIII an Act was passed decreeing that poisoning should be accounted high treason, and punished by boiling to death. And the Chronicler of the Grey Friars writes: "This year (1531), was a cook boiled in a cauldron in Smithfield, for he would have poisoned the Bishop of Rochester, Fisher, with divers of his servants, and he was locked in a chain, and pulled up and down with a gibbet at divers times till he was dead." From Wriothsesley's Chronicle we further learn that this punishment was not deemed unsuitable for a woman. "This year (1532), the 17th of March, was boyled in Smithfield one Margaret Davie, a mayden, which had poysoned 3 house-holdes," &c. In the Low Countries on the establishment of Protestant ascendancy it was decreed that Balthassar Gerard, the assassin of William the Silent, should have "his right hand burnt off with a red-hot iron, his flesh torn from his bones with pincers in six different places, that he should be quartered and disembowelled alive, that his heart should be torn from his bosom and flung in his face, and finally that his head should be cut off."*

If the Inquisition is to be condemned so severely for not emancipating itself from the ideas of its age in the matter of harsh punishments, at least it

* Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, iii. 612.

should receive credit for not having resorted to these refinements of cruelty which were abounding everywhere around it. It was not even primarily responsible for the selection of the fire, as its peculiar mode of execution. The assignment of this punishment to heresy was the State's, not the Church's choice. The Church handed the heretic over to the secular arm to be punished according to the law of the land. Protestant writers sneer at this distinction, but it is real. The Inquisitors might perhaps have scented heresy in the civil authorities, had they neglected to punish the condemned heretics, and of course they knew what the legal civil punishment was. But there is no ground for supposing they would have opposed themselves violently to any general scheme for the mitigation of the mode of punishment.

We must bear in mind also another fact if we are to estimate the large number sent to the stake at their right value as an index of the disposition, cruel or temperate, of the Inquisitors. Great efforts up to the last moment were always made to induce the condemned to acknowledge his errors and recant. Llorente himself, in the statistics he gives of several *autos da fé*, shows that the proportion of those who recanted to those who persisted in their heresy was large. When the recantation came after relapse it did not usually procure remission of the death-sentence, but it always procured a material alleviation of its severity. The condemned were in that case first strangled, and not till life was extinct were the bodies committed to the flames.

But, it will be said, how vain to seek to exculpate the Inquisition from the charge of savagery, when the *autos da fé* at which the victims perished at the stake in vast numbers at a time were treated as religious spectacles, appropriate for days of festal gathering, presided over by ecclesiastics, and

sanctioned by the presence of the King in full state.

This is doubtless the popular impression of an *auto da fé*, but it is quite erroneous. There was no stake at the *auto* itself. These assemblages were unquestionably of a religious nature, and were conducted by the Inquisitors. Their purpose, however, was primarily not to punish, but to reconcile. Those who, having erred from the faith, had been induced to return to it, made their public recantation, or *auto da fé* ("act of faith"), and having a penance assigned to them, harsh doubtless according to our ideas, but still not that of death, were solemnly absolved and reconciled to the Church. It was in view of this that Mass was sung, and sermons preached. The "relaxed" were those who, though at the *auto*, could not be induced to join in it. They were, therefore, after the judgement, not the sentence, had been pronounced over them, "relaxed," that is, delivered over to the civil power for sentence and punishment under its arm. The proportion of the "relaxed" to the "penanced" was at all times comparatively small, often very small indeed. Llorente* mentions the five *autos* held at Toledo, in 1486, as illustrations of the enormous number of victims, 3,300 in all. Yet out of this large number only 27 were relaxed, and perhaps if he had carried his classification a step further we should have found that a dozen at the most were burnt *alive*. At the two famous *autos* at Valladolid, in 1559, famous because the chief of those which dealt with the Lutherans, out of 71 victims, 26 were relaxed (apparently an unusually large proportion), but only two of these were burnt alive. At a public *auto* at Seville, May 29th, 1648, we learn from the published *Relacion*, that out of 52 condemned only one was relaxed in person, and he,

* i. 238.

recanting, was garrotted before he was burnt. At the three *autos* at Seville, in 1721, the *Relaciones* give, out of 130 condemned, 27 relaxed and 5 burnt alive. The "relaxation," or deliverance into the hands of the civil officials, accomplished, the latter led away their prisoners either at once, or, more usually, after a day or more's detention in the civil prisons, to the place of public execution. Here the ecclesiastics had no place. They could have no place (except of course that of confessors to the condemned, which is not in question); for to participate in the infliction of capital punishment would have caused them to incur the canonical punishment called "irregularity," which prohibited from performing the functions of the sacred ministry. At these public executions, the King may at times have been present in person, as Philip II was in 1559. But the *Relacion* of the above-mentioned *auto* at Seville (May 29th, 1648) happens to mention the nature of the usual attendance, "Innumerable boys, the troublesome attendants of such criminals, followed the *cortège* to the Quemadero." There had assembled "a numerous multitude on foot, on horse, and in coaches, attracted by the novelty of the spectacle." This reminds us of the assemblages at public executions at Newgate, only that it seems to have been more respectable, and, one would hope, was more deeply sensible of the solemnity of an act of public justice.

Another item in the punishment of the condemned to which exception has been taken, was the confiscation of their goods, an aggravation of the acutest kind to the sufferer, who thus saw those whom he loved best involved in ruin on his account, and a gross injustice to them as the crime was certainly not theirs. To this we may reply that whether confiscation of goods, in view of its effect on the innocent offspring, is a proper punishment

to inflict or not, is a question worthy of discussion, and modern opinion appears to solve it in the negative. The practice was, however, universal in former days (there are even some relics of it in the existing laws of England) in the case of treason and felony, crimes with which heresy was considered to be equivalent, and it does not appear why the Inquisition should be chargeable with its adherence to the accepted methods in this particular any more than in that of death by burning. It should, however, in fairness be borne in mind, that the time of grace always allowed and generally extended before the Inquisition began to hold its sessions in a neighbourhood, was specially designed to enable the suspected to avoid confiscation as well as other punishments by timely submission; also that the sovereigns were wont to restore some portion to the widows and orphans if innocent; that the property of the Moriscos was declared not liable to this confiscation, but passed on to the heirs; and finally that the Holy See in its frequent interpositions to secure greater leniency was particularly insistent in protecting the children of the condemned heretics, and thereby became implicated in many disputes with the Spanish sovereigns, who complained of the consequent loss to the royal exchequer.

We have next to consider the charges against the procedure of the Tribunal: so unfair to the accused, who was not allowed to have the name of his accusers or even the exact text of their accusation against him. The fact is, that the facilities for preparing his defence allowed by the Inquisition to the accused, contrast favourably with those allowed in the contemporary civil courts of our own country as well as of the rest of Europe. It has been urged as so hard that the text of the accusation should be altered before being submitted to the accused, and that his accusers should not be con-

fronted with him. The names of the accusers were not given, in order that their identity might be concealed, but the text was only altered in unessentials so far as was necessary to preserve this concealment. On the other hand, in England, and elsewhere, not the names of the accusers only, but the charges made by them, were concealed from the prisoner's knowledge up to the time of his appearance in court, so that it was quite impossible for him to prepare a carefully thought-out defence. Nor was the English prisoner allowed an advocate at all in criminal cases, whereas the prisoner of the Inquisition was allowed and given one. It is true such an advocate had to be of the number of those in the service of the Inquisition, or at all events must take its oath of secrecy. This also was a necessity to preserve the secrecy about the accusers. But he was under oath to do his best to set forth any truthful defence the accused might have. In the English trials, again, the accused was not allowed to bring forward witnesses on his behalf, whereas in the Inquisition he was, and could even require them to be summoned from the most remote regions. Possibly some readers will be astonished that such unfairness should be imputed to the English system, but that it was so may be read in Sir James Stephen's work already referred to.* The notion current in those times was that either the accuser proved his case against the accused, or he failed to prove it. If the latter, a verdict of acquittal was already due and rendered witnesses for the accused unnecessary; if the former, any witness in the contrary sense must either be irrelevant or perjured. That the truth could emerge out of the conflict of opposing testimonies thoroughly sifted, did not enter into the minds of the English and other civil jurists. It was to the merit of the Inquisi-

* p. 350.

tion to have grasped in no small degree the rational principles now realized.

But why should the names of the accusers have been concealed? Could there be any ground for veiling these trials in secrecy save to press unfairly on the poor victims? There is a great prejudice in our times against secret trials as pressing unfairly on the accused, but we have occasional reminders that an open trial may also have its disadvantages. To pass over the question of the injury often done to the reputation of third parties, it has occasionally been forced on public attention that crimes cannot be put down, because witnesses know that by giving evidence they exposed themselves to great risks, the accused having powerful friends to execute vengeance in their behalf. This was exactly the case with the Inquisition. We have already described the state of affairs in Spain which first caused it to be set in motion. The Maranos and the Moriscos had great power through their wealth, position, and secret bonds of alliance with the unconverted Jews and Moors. These would certainly have endeavoured to neutralize the efforts of the Holy Office had the trials been open. Torquemada, in his Statutes of 1484, gives expressly this defence of secrecy: "It has become notorious that great damage and danger would accrue to the property and person of the witnesses, by the publication of their names, as experience has shown, and still shows, that several of them have been killed, wounded, or maltreated by heretics." The truth about secret trials seems to be that they impose a much greater responsibility on the judges. If a judge is unfair, as we know from history judges have often been, publicity is a valuable check upon them. But as long as the judge is impartial, it is quite possible to work a secret trial in such a manner as to reach a just conclusion, particularly

when the court has the power to "inquire," that is, seek out evidence, and is not tied to the mere evidence set before it by others. In the case of inquiries about heresy, there was also this to diminish the otherwise greater difficulties of the secret procedure. Past heresy was of comparatively small account if there was undoubted present orthodoxy, and on this point evidence of a conclusive kind could be furnished on the spot by the accused person if only he chose to furnish it. Provision was of course made by the Inquisition to obviate the chances of unjust accusations and to give the accused every reasonable chance of setting forth his defence. They are provisions obviously dictated by the desire to be impartial and even clement, as well as efficacious. It would take too much space to give them here, but they can be seen in Hefele or more fully in Llorente himself, who, if we separate his facts from his insinuations, is a valuable apologist of the institution he attacks. In the present connexion there is one thing in his pages worthy of special note. In the accounts of many famous processes which he gives, you cannot help feeling that the court invariably succeeds in arriving at the true decision. Llorente's charge against it is in each case too patently, not that it convicted of heresy those who were not heretics, but that it did not give real heretics sufficient chances of slipping through its hands. It is absurd and illogical to mix up charges. Whether heresy is a crime or not, is one point; whether the law is bound to afford guilty persons facilities for escaping justice is another. On the former we have already offered some remarks; as to the latter, one would imagine no remarks were needed.

The next charge against the Inquisition is its use of torture. We are all agreed that the practice is cruel and happily obsolete. But again, why is the

Inquisition to be more blameworthy than other European courts of the period? Torture was everywhere in use whilst it was in use with the Inquisition, and became obsolete there when it grew into disfavour elsewhere. It is indeed the boast of English lawyers that it was never a part of the English procedure, and this is true of the ordinary procedure. But it was employed in England nevertheless, under the prerogative of the Crown, particularly during the Tudor and early Stuart period. "Under Henry VIII, it appears to have been in frequent use. Only two cases occurred under Edward VI, and eight under Mary. The reign of Elizabeth was its culminating point. In the words of Hallam, 'The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign.' "* And we may add incidentally that while Edward and Mary do not appear to have employed it in cases of heresy, Elizabeth employed it ordinarily and ruthlessly against the Catholics. If, too, in England torture was not employed under the ordinary procedure, Sir James Stephen tells us† this was merely because the ordinary procedure had slight scruples about convicting on very insufficient evidence. Torture was employed by the Inquisition, as by other courts, in order to extract evidence which could not be otherwise verified, and so obtain the certainty, if it existed, without which no conviction was possible. In short, if we are to compare the Inquisition with other contemporary courts whether in Spain or England or elsewhere, in regard to the employment of torture, the result must be to award the Inquisition the palm of greater mercy. It limited largely the number of those who could inflict it, permitted its infliction only when the evidence against the prisoner amounted already to a *semi plena probatio* (i.e., nearly complete proof),

* *Encycl. Brit.* s.v. "Torture." † *op. cit.* i. 222.

permitted it only once in each case (though history shows that this regulation was not always observed), and required the presence of the inquisitor and the ordinary not, as is popularly thought, to gloat over the agonies of the sufferer, but to see that the experiment was conducted with as much mercy and mildness as was possible under the conditions. These precautions do not seem to have existed in the same degree in England.

In like manner the charge of inhumanity against the dungeons of the Inquisition needs only to be dealt with by the comparative method in order to melt away. Is the story told, only a little more than a century ago, by John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, as to the state of English and continental prisons so completely forgotten ! Doubtless the prison cells of the past were in flagrant opposition to the dictates of humanity, and one can only marvel that they could last so long without encountering the protests of the merciful. The Inquisition was naturally governed in this respect also by contemporary methods, though analogy would lead us to surmise that here too it was to some extent in advance of its age. One thing at least we may hope, that it had no dungeon like that into which, under Elizabeth, Father Sherwood was put in the Tower of London. This we learn from Jardine, "was a cell below high-water mark and totally dark ; and, as the tide flowed, innumerable rats which infested the muddy banks of the Thames were driven through the crevices of the walls into the dungeons."* Alarm was the least part of the torture to the terrified inmates. At times flesh was torn from the arms and legs of the prisoners during sleep by these rats. And this was after a century of enlightenment had separated a new age from that of Torquemada. We have Llorente's unimpeachable testi-

* cf. Jardine's *Readings on the use of Torture in England*.

mony for the improvement that had set in by the commencement of the nineteenth century. At that time he tells us the cells were "good vaulted chambers well lighted and dry," and "large enough for exercise." Nor were chains in use, unless perhaps in an isolated case to prevent suicide.* As much could not have been said of the generality of English prisons at that date.

The last charge relates to the manner of the arrests. That the Inquisition established an all-embracing system of *espionnage* through the agency of secret officials called "familiars" is an important feature in the Protestant conception of its methods. But the "familiars" were not a secret body. They were a sort of militia containing a large number, perhaps a majority, of religious-minded, influential persons. The purpose of their enrolment as such was not to spy out heresies, but to constitute an organized fund of physical force in support of the tribunal against the very considerable power of the heretics it was endeavouring to overmaster. They had a large part in the conduct of the *autos da fé*, and apparently the officials, apparitors, etc., of the court were of their number. But there is no ground for thinking them to be mysterious beings with cat-like tread such as a morbid fancy has depicted them. Arrests were perhaps at times made in secrecy. This is usual and according to common sense when otherwise an arrest might be successfully impeded. But that after arrest, no news of what had happened were allowed to transpire, or a word of allusion to the occurrence to be made, is absurd. As soon as an arrest was made, an official of the court was at once sent to the prisoner's house to take an inventory of his possessions. How could this be done and the family remain in ignorance of what had happened? That all conversation about

* i. p. 300.

the arrest made was forbidden seems also altogether improbable, and at least requires to be established by proof, not imagination. At the best, there may be this slight ground for the notion. To manifest sympathy with the heresy, not the person, of the prisoner, would be to repeat the fault of which he was suspected, and to incur its liabilities. In all cases, when a criminal has been carried off by justice, it is prudent for his accomplices to observe reticence.

No other charge occurs to us demanding notice in a short pamphlet, but readers who desire fuller information may be referred to Hefele's excellent chapters on the subject in his *Life of Cardinal Ximenez*. All that now remains for us here is to correct the notion that the Holy See is responsible for the excesses of the Spanish Inquisition. It is disputed among authorities whether the tribunal ought not to be regarded as a Royal rather than a Papal court, and Bishop Hefele is strongly of this view. The inquisitors were, however, unquestionably ecclesiastics, and drew their jurisdiction from Papal Bulls. In this sense the court was certainly Papal, but the appointments were all made by the Crown; and the Crown, not the Pope, is responsible for the harshness. The Papal power of control, though theoretically absolute, was practically small. The Popes met with constant opposition from the Spanish monarchs in all their attempts to interpose. They did, however, interpose frequently, both by protest, by threats of excommunication, by drawing to themselves appeals, and sometimes by revising largely in the sense of mercy or even altogether remitting sentences passed by the tribunal. We are dependent for our information concerning this matter on Llorente, who alone has had access to the Papal Letters. He gives us some letters of expostulation written by Sixtus

IV, and these exhibit this Pope just as we should expect to find a Pope, anxious to put down heresy, and therefore granting the spiritual faculties solicited by the sovereigns for their nominees, and even exhorting them to zeal in their work ; but at the same time desirous that the zeal should be tempered by mercy, and deeply incensed when he discovered that the claims of mercy were so disregarded. It is the voice of genuine compassion which speaks out in terms like these, " Since it is clemency which, as far as is possible to human nature, makes men equal to God, We ask and entreat the King and Queen by the tender mercies of our Lord Jesus Christ to imitate Him whose property it is ever to show mercy and to spare, and so to spare the citizens of Seville and its diocese," etc. Nor did Sixtus stay at words. First he appointed the Archbishop of Seville as a judge of appeal, and, when this arrangement failed of its effect, he allowed the victims to carry appeals to Rome, where already they had fled in large numbers, hopeful of obtaining, as they did obtain, either complete absolution or a large alleviation of their penance from that merciful tribunal. Surely it is a significant fact that fugitives from the harshness of the Spanish Inquisition should have thought of Rome as the best refuge to which they could flee. Succeeding Popes are stated by Llorente to have made similar endeavours to mitigate the extreme severities of the inquisitors. They were, however, invariably foiled by the Spanish sovereigns, who had the power in their hands.

Llorente tries to take the edge off these remonstrances of the Holy See by insinuating that they sprang from the base motive of cupidity ; that the Popes had an eye to the fees they could extort as the price of their absolutions. But this is mere insinuation for which there is not a shadow of proof. The action of the Popes in regard to the Inquisition

is quite in keeping with the character that has always been theirs. The Popes as individuals have had their personal qualities. Some have been sterner, others milder, in their temperament and in their rule. But the Holy See has all along stood out among the thrones of Christendom conspicuous for its love of mercy and tenderness towards the erring and the suffering.

And not the Holy See only, but the clergy also, if we take them as a body. As the ministers of Jesus Christ, more entirely devoted to His service and more exclusively occupied with the study of His Life, this is what would be expected of them. And what honest historian of the past, or observer of the present, can deny that the expectation has been realized? It was the clergy, in the wild Middle Ages, who were the refuge of the weak and oppressed against the lawless monarchs and chieftains: it was they who originated charitable institutions under so many forms. And in our own days, they are engaged everywhere in exactly the same work. This does not mean that the Catholic laity are backward in charitable enterprises. It means only that the clergy are wont to be the leaders in such works. Surely then it is reasonable to judge of their part in the Inquisition by these analogies, and this is all we have been contending for. The Inquisition belonged to an age which was far harsher in dealing with crime than our own, and the clergy are always, necessarily, imbued with the ideas and feelings that are in the air they breathe. We ought not to be surprised to find that when they acted as Inquisitors, they adopted methods prevalent in their age, which to us seem harsh and revolting. But we should expect also that their judicial behaviour would in some sort reflect the tender-heartedness in all other respects demonstratively characteristic of their body. In a word, the

faults which we deplore in these Inquisitors were the faults of their age, which happily has passed away. The redeeming qualities we discover in them were the virtues natural to their state. The latter survive, and we may hope, ripen, and they furnish a guarantee which should give satisfaction to terrified Protestants, that our return to power, if so unlikely a thing should be in the near future, will not bring with it any danger to their lives and liberties.

It will be convenient to sum up what has been established in a few propositions.

1. The intolerance of Catholics consists in this that they believe our Lord has made His revelation sufficiently clear for all men to recognize it if they will. Still, modern Catholics have no desire to coerce those who will not recognize it. The tolerance of Protestants consists in this that they believe everyone must be left to his private judgement in a matter so obscure as the true religion. But they persecute those whose private judgement recommends them to become Catholics.

2. No one wants back the Spanish Inquisition, but although following the notions of its age, it put to death altogether a very large number of heretics, the English civil courts put to death many more for lesser crimes—like sheep-stealing.

3. Torture employed by the Inquisition in conformity with the common law of Spain, but with greater restrictions. Torture employed in England much more fiercely, in spite of the common law of England. The culminating point of its use in England was under Elizabeth, who inflicted it ruthlessly on Catholics.

4. Names of accusers for their security concealed in Spain from the accused, but the accusation given him and the assistance of an advocate. No advocates allowed in English criminal trials of former

days, and accusations not shown to the accused till he came into court.

5. Inquisition dungeons probably never worse than contemporary English dungeons, and certainly much better in the latter days of its existence.

6. The victims of the Inquisition had such a belief in the humanity of the Popes that they fled to his territory and begged to have their cases judged there.

7. Though the Spanish Inquisition was of ecclesiastical institution, it was from its very foundation almost completely controlled by the Spanish Kings, who frequently diverted it from its original purpose, *i.e.*, the repression of heresy, and used it as an instrument to secure merely national, political and personal ends. This explains in large measure, if not entirely, the excesses and abuses of the Inquisition in Spain. That the Catholic Church is not responsible, is proven by the strong and frequent Papal condemnations of excessive cruelty and abuse of power on the part of Spanish Inquisitors.

THE TOWER OF LONDON

A GUIDE FOR CATHOLICS

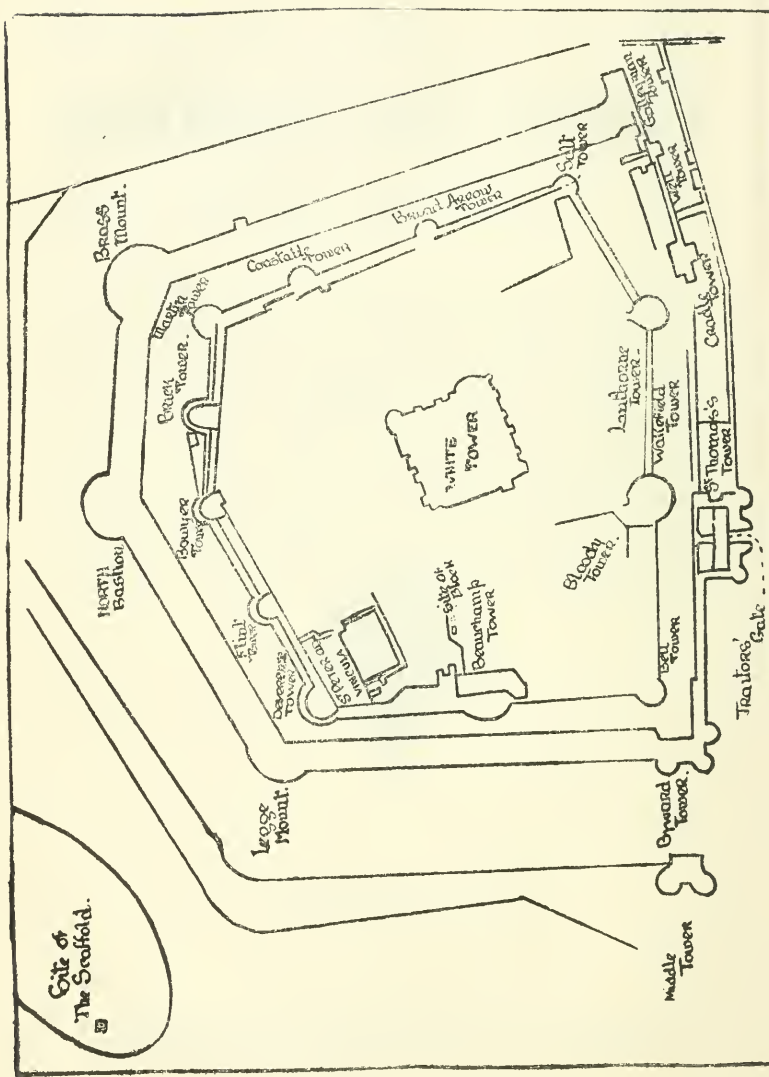
BY
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THE TOWER OF LONDON

A GUIDE FOR CATHOLICS¹

By C. L. JONES

“Considered in the present day as a place of strength, there can be attached to it but little importance; but when viewed as the scene of many of the most important events in our history—regarded as one of the ancient palaces of our sovereigns—or contemplated in its character as a state prison, it excites as a building a degree of unrivalled interest.”—BAYLEY.

“Set against the Tower of London—with its eight hundred years of historic life, its nineteen hundred years of traditional fame—all other palaces and prisons appear like things of an hour.”—DIXON.

To Catholics the chief interest of the Tower of London consists in the fact that it was for a century and a half the scene of the sufferings and torture of the faithful of all degrees of Society.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was used principally as a state prison. At no period of our history had it been more constantly thronged with delinquents; and many of these, by their rank or fate, peculiarly excite our interest. After the death of Queen Mary, which occurred on November 17, 1558, the Tower dungeons were soon filled with the principal adherents of the old faith, as is shown by the names of the prisoners in the Tower, with the causes of their imprisonment, briefly set forth and delivered by Sir Edward Warner, knight, Lieutenant of the said Tower, to the Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, May 26, 1561. “Doctor Heathe, late Bishop of York; Doctor Thirlby, late Bishop of Ely; Doctor

¹ A lecture on the Tower, illustrated by fifty lantern slides, may be obtained from the C.T.S. Dépôt, 72 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1. Seven separate lectures on the English Martyrs are also available.

Watson, late Bishop of Lincoln ; Doctor Pates, late Bishop of Worcester ; Doctor Fakenham, late Abbot of Westminster ; Doctor Turberville, late Bishop of Exeter ; Doctor Bourne, late Bishop of Bath ; and Mr. Boxall. The causes of these eight aforesaid 'parsons' (all of whom were committed to prison in the months of May and June, 1560) are known to your lordships and needeth no further rehearsal."

We shall never really know the actual number of Catholic priests who perished within the precincts, of diseases induced by torture and damp and filthy cells, and who were secretly buried in the Tower cemetery ; quite apart from those sent to recorded and barbarous deaths at Tyburn and elsewhere.

In those days, Catholic priests were not only at the mercy of "common informers," but they were also actively persecuted by the Bishops of the Anglican Church. Three holograph letters of the Bishop of London (Dr. Bancroft) to Sir Robert Cecil are here reproduced :—

"There is one in prison at York by the name of Welburye, but his right name is Cuthbert Trollope. He is a priest, and a chief man among the Appellants. Besides, he was the party that opposed himself to Parsons, against the reading of his 'Dolman' at meals' time in the Roman College. It would be very inconvenient in many respects that he should be proceeded with there according to law. I think it therefore very expedient for her Majesty's further service that he might be sent for hither, either by direction of the Lords, or by my Lord President of York your brother, and disposed of here as afterwards it shall be held meet. And this is not only my opinion but my desire, except you shall be of another mind. At my house in Fulham, being troubled with the fall of my uvula ; 14 June, 1602."

"I have committed Barrowes the priest to the Marshalsea, and if you do think fit, I would send him to Framlingham with Leake the priest upon Monday or Tuesday next. At Fulham, the 28 of August, 1602."

"I have sent you a book penned and published by one Wm. Clarke, a secular priest, against Parsons' manifestation. As touching the priests in prison, I could send them to Framlingham by your own direction, saving Gardiner, that is condemned. These are the names of them :—In the Gate House, Hugh Whittofte ; in Newgat, Rogers *alias* Flud, a Jesuit ; Gardiner, condemned ; in the Marshalsea,

Mr. Barowys ; in the Clink, Mr. Leake, Mr. Greene, a friar ; in the King's Bench, Mr. Gray, taken lately by my Lord Chief Justice upon suspicion of some great matters. I would be glad to know your pleasure herein, the rather because there will be a 'cotch' ready upon Tuesday next to carry them down. The stay, I think, will be upon Gardiner. At my house in London, 17 Dec., 1602."¹

During the period of religious persecution in this country upwards of three hundred martyrs, men and women, priests and laymen, secular and religious, poured out their blood like water for the rights of the Apostolic See. In no other place are there such interesting inscriptions and reminiscences of those illustrious confessors of the Faith as are preserved in the Tower of London.

The uses of the Tower have been many and various. In its time it has served as a fortress ; royal palace ; palace for coronations ; state prison ; mint ; stores ; barracks ; public records office ; menagerie ; storehouse for the crown jewels ; and as a show-place.

In this little guide we shall confine ourselves to its Catholic associations, connecting, so far as is possible, the events which we shall describe with the actual spots which witnessed them.

The Tower, as we know it, was begun by Gundulph, the Benedictine Bishop of Rochester, the friend of St. Anselm, for William the Conqueror. He built the great keep called the White Tower, the first St. Peter's Church, and the Hall (or Jewel) Tower. Henry III built the Water Gate, which he dedicated to St. Thomas Becket, and also the great wharf and the Cradle and Lanthorn Towers. The inner ward, formerly the royal quarter, is defended by thirteen towers : most if not all of these at one time or another have served as prisons. The outer ward, which was the folk's quarter, has six towers and three semi-circular bastions. We shall first of all enter the precincts and then take a walk round in order to obtain a general idea of the buildings and places of interest connected with the Tower.

¹ The spelling has been modernized.

Middle Tower (Inner Ward).—Passing under this tower, we cross a bridge over the moat in order to reach the **Byward Tower** (the “Tower of the Gate”) (Outer Ward), so called from the password given on entering it. This occupies the south-west angle of the outer ward, and almost exactly corresponds with the Martin Tower, in its general form and the style of its architecture. A few yards away, on the right, is an ancient passage leading to a small pull-bridge which has been constructed in place of an old draw-bridge that communicated with the wharf, opposite the Queen’s Stairs, which we shall see later. The interior of the structure remains in great perfection, particularly the apartments on each side of the gateway, which, with their ancient stone fireplaces, are highly interesting examples of architecture.

Bell (or Belfry) Tower (Inner Ward).—This tower, formerly known as the Red Tower, is situated almost behind the King’s House ; it takes its name from being surmounted by a small wooden turret containing the alarm bell of the garrison. It is of a circular form and consists of only one floor above the ground ; the walls are of great thickness, and light is admitted to the lower part by narrow embrasures or loopholes. The architecture of the basement floor is worthy of particular notice ; it has a vaulted roof of very curious construction with deep recesses in the walls. Access to this tower can only be obtained through the King’s House, to which it forms a sort of annexe. In ancient records this house is styled the Lieutenant’s House or Lodgings. At the entrance to the upper chamber, which was originally called the “Strong Room,” the following anonymous and undated inscription has been left by some prisoner (probably Thomas Miagh) who had evidently suffered on the rack :—“ bi - tortvre - stravnge - my - trovth - was - tried - yet - of - my - lybertie - denied - ther - for - reson - hath - me - perswaded - that - pasyens - mvst - be - ymbrased - thogh - hard - fortvne - chasyth - me - with - smart - yet - pasyens - shall - prevayl.”

It was here, in the "Strong Room" that Blessed John Fisher was confined from the time that he entered the Tower as a prisoner on April 16, 1534. The room was not a bad one for a prison, as prisons were in those days, yet to the aged Bishop, feeble and emaciated as he was, with a "wasted liver" and tendency to consumption, the cold and damp of the thick walls were little less than downright torture. In a touching letter to Thomas Cromwell, the martyr begs the Secretary of State to give him a little alleviation¹ :—

"Furthermore, I beseech you to be good master to me in my necessity; for I have neither shirt, nor suit, nor yet other clothes that are necessary for me to wear, but that be ragged, and rent too shamefully. Notwithstanding I might easily suffer that, if they would keep my body warm. But my diet also, God knoweth how slender it is at any times. And now in my age my stomach may not away but with a few kinds of meat, which if I want I decay forthwith, and fall into coughs and diseases of my body, and cannot keep myself in health, and, as our Lord knoweth, I have nothing left unto me for to provide any better, but as my brother of his own purse layeth out for me, to his great hindrance. Wherefore, good master secretary, I beseech you soon to have some pity upon me, and let me have such things as are necessary for me in my age, and specially for my health, and also that it may please you by your high wisdom to move the King's Highness to take me unto his gracious favour again, and to restore me unto my liberty, out of this cold and painful imprisonment; whereby ye shall bind me to your poor beadsman for ever unto Almighty God, who ever have you in his protection and custody.

"Other twain things I must also desire upon you: that one is that it may please you that I may take some priest with in the Tower, by the assignment of Master Lieutenant to hear my confession against this holy time:

"That other is, that I may borrow some books to stir my devotion more effectually these holy days for the comfort of my soul. This I beseech you to grant me of your charity. And thus our Lord send you a merry Christmas and a comfortable, to your heart's desire.

"At the Tower the xxii day of December (1534).

"Your poor Beadsman JO. ROFF."

¹ The spelling has been modernized.

It was in this Chamber in the Bell Tower that on the morning of June 22, 1535, before five of the clock, the Lieutenant awoke his illustrious prisoner to inform him that it was the King's pleasure that he should suffer death that forenoon. The lower room appears to have been occupied for a period by Blessed Thomas More and also by John Leslie, Bishop of Ross, who was imprisoned in it in 1572.

Traitors' Gate is one of the most interesting spots connected with the Tower. Here it was that Sir Thomas More was brought after he had refused, at Lambeth Palace, to swear that the marriage with Anne was true and lawful, and her offspring true heirs to the throne, and also to reject and repudiate the authority of the Sovereign Pontiff by whom Henry's former marriage with Catherine of Aragon had been declared valid and binding.

At the gloomy portal of this terrible prison, the martyr was stopped by the porter, who demanded his upper garment as his perquisite. Sir Thomas thereupon handed him his hat, saying, "Mr. Porter, here it is, and I am sorry it is no better for thee." "No, sir," quoth the porter, "I must have your gown."

This, too, was the scene, on July 1, 1534, of the ex-Chancellor's farewell with his beloved daughter, Margaret, after being condemned to death, at Westminster, for "traitorously attempting to deprive the King of his title of Supreme Head of the Church."

Here also were landed Anne Boleyn and Katharine Howard, Queens of Henry VIII; Lady Jane Grey; Princess Elizabeth; the Earl of Essex; and many other eminent personages.

Above Traitors' Gate rises the imposing mass known as **St. Thomas's Tower**. This building was erected by Henry III, who had a great devotion to St. Thomas Becket. The King placed an oratory dedicated to the great prelate in one of the rooms. Hence the name St. Thomas's Tower, which has supplanted its official one of Water Gate.

Bloody Tower (Inner Ward).—This is generally held to be the scene of the murder of King Edward V and his brother the Duke of York in the Tower. The whole story, however, is more than doubtful, as various authors of repute have urged that the young princes were not murdered. Beneath the tower is the main entrance into the inner ward. In ancient days, this building was designated the *Garden Tower*; but so far back as the year 1597 it was known by its present name; it is not definitely known why it was so called, but probably it was from its being the scene of the supposed suicide of Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, who was found dead in his bed with three bullets through his heart on June 21, 1585.

The Index, or Diary, of the Transactions which occurred in the Tower of London, on account of the Catholic religion, long attributed to Father Rishton, a Catholic priest who was detained in the Tower from 1580 to 1585, tells us that "it is peculiar to the prison which they call the Tower, above all others, that every prisoner has a separate apartment or dungeon, and a separate keeper, that he may be always kept locked up and debarred the sight and conversation of others, and that every species of communication, either by letters or by messengers, may be prevented. Therefore from this room he is led out to every other place; whether to suffer the punishments which are inflicted at different times upon Catholics, according to the caprice of the persecutors, or to be examined, or put upon the rack."

Here are a few extracts from this interesting diary:—

"1581.—Thomas Brunscow detained in the Pit for five months.

"March 27 of the same year.—Alexander Bryant, a Priest, was brought into the Tower from another prison, where he had almost died of thirst, was loaded with heavy shackles; then needles were thrust under his nails; he was also thrown in the Pit and stretched on the rack with great severity.

"1584, February 2.—Robert Nutter, Priest, confined in the Pit, wearing fetters for 43 days, during which he suffered twice in the Scavenger's Daughter.

"February 5, James Fenn, Thomas Hemmerford, and John Nutter, Priests, received sentence of death, lay in the Pit loaded with irons until they were executed."

Besides "The Pit"—a subterranean cave, without light, twenty feet deep—and "Little Ease," there were five other kinds of punishment or torture practised in the Tower, viz. : "The *Rack*, in which, by certain machines and wooden wheels, the members of the body are drawn different ways ; the *Scavenger's Daughter*, a name probably derived from the inventor—it consists of an iron ring which compresses the hands and feet, and the head into a circle ; *Iron Gloves*, in which the hands are fastened with excruciating pain ; *Manacles*, which are worn upon the arms ; finally, *Iron Shackles*, which are fitted to the feet."

Upwards of a thousand prisoners have been confined in the chambers and cells of the Tower at one time. During Elizabeth's reign, Bayley observes, the Tower was crowded with prisoners, chiefly Jesuits, and the cruelties and tortures of which that place became the scene about this period (1580), excited so great an outcry both at home and abroad, that it was deemed expedient to put forth a paper to explain and excuse the measures of Government. It was entitled, "A declaration of the favourable dealing of her Majesty's commissioners appointed for the examination of certain traitors, and of tortures unjustly reported to be done upon them for matters of religion." This account of the "mild and gracious clemency" which the poor prisoners experienced in those days speaks volumes.

Bad, however, as was the Tower as a prison, other places were worse. "Father Southwell was so infamously tortured by Topcliffe, by whom he had been lodged in his own strong chamber, that the prisoner's father presented a petition to Queen Elizabeth praying that his son might be either executed

or treated as a gentleman. The Queen herself was moved to compassion, and ordered that he should be removed to the Tower, where he remained three years at his father's expense." (*Catholic Encyclopædia*).

White Tower.—The principal and one of the most ancient parts of the present fortress is the citadel, or keep, which stands near the centre of the inner ward. It is known as the White Tower : the name probably originated in a custom that existed at a very early period of whitening the exterior of its walls.

White Tower — Dungeons. — Beneath the White Tower are cellars, entrance to which, until somewhat recently, was only gained from the Governor's house by means of an underground passage. In the north-eastern room was the torture-chamber ; the holes in which the four posts of the rack were placed are still discernible in the floor. The torture of the rack was so severe that several priests are known to have died under it. Father Campion was left on it all night ; and Norton, the rack-master, boasted that he had stretched Father Briant a foot longer than Nature had made him. In this chamber the famous Father Gerard suffered the torture of hanging by the wrists. When he entered the room, there " were ranged divers sorts of racks and other instruments of torture. Some of these they displayed before me, and told me that I should have to taste them." Father Gerard had his hands screwed into two iron rings, by which he was suspended to a column at such a height that his feet did not touch the ground. In this position he remained for an hour, when a block was placed under his feet, and he was kept in that excruciating attitude for five hours longer. Being again subjected to the same cruelty on the following day, he fainted from exhaustion, and was restored by pouring vinegar down his throat ; after which the torture was renewed. He was a third time brought out, but on the interference of the Lieutenant of the Tower was suffered to remain in quiet, and in about twenty days recovered

the use of his limbs. Subsequently he effected his escape from the Cradle Tower. (See p. 24).

White Tower—Little Ease.—It is stated that Guy Fawkes spent his last hours in this dungeon, where a prisoner had neither room to stand upright nor to lie down at full length, and, further, "that a pipe connected this place with the moat, and admitted the water, at high tide, to the height of several feet, so that in addition to an excruciatingly painful position, the unhappy captive was half-drowned, and even devoured by the hungry rats that swam in with the slimy water," but the statement that "Little Ease" was a dungeon is now regarded as a fable, generally. Next to "Little Ease" is the south-east chamber of this dreary basement, lying beneath the crypt of St. John's Chapel. In the reign of King John, several hundreds of Jews, of both sexes and of all ages, were confined in total darkness.

Several graffiti are still visible in the crypt. One, by Robert Rudston of Dartford, is worded—"He that endureth to the ende shall be saved"; another runs, "Be faithful unto the deth, and I will give thee a crown of life.—T. FANE, 1553."

In a cell on this floor contrived in the thickness of the centre wall, Father Fisher, another of the Jesuits, was confined in the reign of James I. With a nail he scratched an inscription, still legible, which runs thus: "*Sacris vestibus indutus dum sacra mysteria servans, captus et in hoc augusto carcere inclusus.*—R. FISHER." (While clad in the sacred vestments and administering the sacred mysteries, I was taken, and immured in this narrow dungeon).

St. John's Chapel, which may justly be said to be one of the finest and most perfect specimens of the Norman style of architecture now extant in the country, was dedicated to St. John the Evangelist.

Henry III, in the year 1240, gave particular directions for repairing and ornamenting this chapel, and among other things that were ordered to be made

were three glass windows : one towards the north, "with a little Mary holding her child," and two others towards the south, representing the Holy Trinity and St. John the apostle and evangelist. The cross and rood were also to be painted well and with good colours ; and there were likewise to be made and painted, where it could best and most properly be done in the said chapel, two fair images—one of them of St. Edward the Confessor holding a ring, and presenting it to St. John the Evangelist.

There is still in existence a fragmentary account book, which contains a list of sums disbursed in or about the year 1509. Amongst them are to be observed two entries :

"Item for yowre oferyng att Owre Lady of the Towre," and "Item in almys ther."

It was here that Queen Mary caused a requiem mass to be celebrated for her brother, Edward VI, at the same time that his funeral was taking place according to Protestant rites in Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster.

In ancient records we find frequent mention of this chapel in connection with the installation of Knights of the Bath, batches of whom appear to have been created at successive coronations.

The highest story is known as the State Floor. Its western chamber, here called the Great Council Chamber, was the scene of the arrest of Lord Hastings by Richard III. The unfortunate peer was almost instantly led to execution ; he was taken into the courtyard of the Tower, and "without judgment or long time for confession or repentance," was beheaded in front of the chapel, on a piece of timber which accidentally lay there for repairing some of the buildings of the fortress.

Beauchamp (or Cobham) Tower (Inner Ward).—The former name, by which it is generally known, is supposed to have been given to it from the fact of its having been the prison of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, in 1397 ; and the latter, from some of

the Cobhams who became its inmates in the reign of Queen Mary.

It consists of three stories ; the second and uppermost floors were used as prisons. The room on the middle floor, which is one of the most interesting in the Tower of London, was always looked upon as a convenient place for lodging prisoners of rank ; it was large, but cold and gloomy : and the privation of society, and usually of books and of the consolations of religion, made the imprisonment very galling.

All the inscriptions on the walls, a means by which the unfortunate prisoners whiled away the tedious hours of the inactivity, are numbered and catalogued. Unfortunately, the inscribed stones do not occupy their original places, as years ago they were removed and grouped together in the order in which we now see them.

Some of the most interesting memorials are :---

2. The name " ROBERT DUDLEY " (see 14).

8. This large piece of sculpture consists of the arms of the family of Peverel—three wheat-sheaves ; on one side of which is a representation of the Crucifix, bearing the initials of its superscription, and a bleeding heart ; there is also part of the figure of a skeleton, with an illegible inscription underneath, and the word " Peverel." On the opposite side of the room there is another carving (31) in the form of a horse-shoe, with a mutilated sentence round it, beginning with the words *Adoramus Te*, and below, the name, THOMAS PEVEREL. Still another carving (62) is associated with this family. It consists of a cross inserted in a heart ; underneath, within a circle, is a death's head, and on each side a bone. In a niche adjoining is a figure in the attitude of prayer ; next a shield on which are again represented three wheat-sheaves. Thomas Peverel was, in all probability, one of the numerous Catholics imprisoned in the Tower in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

13. (Over the fireplace.) None of these inscriptions excite more interest among Catholics than those cut in the stone by the hands of Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, premier peer of England—"papist," "recusant," "traitor,"—whose virtues and patience have, however, extorted an unwilling tribute of respect, even from many who detest the religion for which he suffered so long and so nobly.

This particular inscription consists of the following words: "*Quanto plus afflictionis pro Christo in hoc saeculo, tanto plus gloriæ cum Christo in futuro.* ARUNDELL, June 22, 1587" (The more affliction we endure for Christ in this world, the more glory we shall obtain with Christ in the next.)

Immediately beneath it the following texts were added after Philip's death:—*Gloria et honore eum coronasti domine*, and *In memoria æterna erit justus*. (Thou, O Lord, hast crowned him with glory and honour. The just shall be had in everlasting remembrance.) In order to make it quite certain to whom the "eum" referred, the letters composing it have been ingeniously placed in the flourishes beneath Philip's signature, "Arundell." Up the stairs, on the right of the first loophole, is another inscription from Philip's hands (91), which runs thus:—"Sicut peccati causa vinciri opprobrium est, ita e contra, pro Christo custodiæ vincula sustinere, maxima gloria est. ARUNDELL, 16 of May, 1587." (To be bound on account of sin is a disgrace; but to sustain the bonds of prison for Christ's sake is the greatest glory.)

Another of the Arundel inscriptions (79) represents a branch of oak, with two acorns; underneath are the words, which translated read, "I am waiting for my liberty, 1587."

The only other memorial of Philip is a small crucifix cut in the splay of a window in a passage to the left of the large room.

Although Philip's father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, who were also condemned to suffer death, perished upon the scaffold, he himself languished in

prison until his death in 1595. After his condemnation, he was not even granted permission for his wife to visit him with his infant son, whom, having been born since his imprisonment, he had never seen. In reply to his request, he was told that if he would once attend the Protestant form of worship, his prayer should be granted, and he should be restored to his honours and estates, and to all the favours that the Queen could show him.

14. "JOHN DUDLEY." This nobleman was the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland, father-in-law of Lady Jane Grey, and brother of Robert Dudley (see 2).

18. "TYPING stand here and bere they cross,
For thou art catholyke, but no worce,
And for that cawse this by-eer space,
Thou hast conteant wedin great disgrace ;
Yet what happ will hit I
Cannot tel, bvt be death
Or be wel, content swet good."

This is the work of James Typpinge, who was a prisoner in the Tower in 1590.

19. "IHON STORE, DOCTOR, 1570." Blessed John Store, or Story, who had refused to take the oath of supremacy, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, June 1, 1571.

Entrapped on board an English ship in the harbour at Antwerp, the captain set sail and conveyed him to England.

Although an old man, nearly seventy years of age, it is related of him that, having been cut down before he was deprived of his senses, he boxed the ears of the executioner who was proceeding to carry out his disgusting duties.

33. This, as well as Nos. 47, 52, 56, and 57, are associated with the great family of POLE, to which the Countess of Salisbury and her son the Cardinal belonged.

Another Poole and his brother, Edmund (great grandchildren of George, Duke of Clarence, brother to

King Edward IV), Antony Fortescue, who had married their sister, and others, to the number of seven in all, were indicted for treason in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The two brothers, who pined away their lives in this "doleful prison," have left several memorials, as under :—

33. "I.H.S. Dio semin . . in lachrimis in exultatione meter. Æ. 21, POOLE, 1562." (God soweth in tears to reap in joy.)

47. "Edmund Poole."

52. "I.H.S. A passage perillus makethe a port pleasant. Ao, 1568. Arthur Poole. Æt. suæ 37, A. P."

56. "Edmund Poole" (1568).

57. "Deo. servire. penitentiam. inire. fato. obedire. regnare, est. A. Poole. 1564. I.H.S." "To serve God, to endure penance, to obey fate, is to reign."

34. THOMAS SALMON, who was here immured "close prisoner 8 monethes, 32 wekes, 224 dayes, 5376 houres," in the reign of James I.

42. Under the name "THOMAS ROOPER," with the date 1570, is the figure of a skeleton, recumbent : and on the right-hand side are the words—" *Per passage penible passons a port plaisant.*" (By the painful passage let us pass to the pleasant port.)

Brailey observes that Thomas Rooper was probably a descendant of the Ropers, in Kent, one of whom married Margaret, the devoted daughter of Sir Thomas More.

45. "GEFFRYE POOLE, 1562." This, no doubt, was the unworthy member of his family upon whose evidence his own brother, Henry Pole, Viscount Montague, and others, were condemned for high treason in the year 1538. Geoffrey Pole himself was confined in the Tower till his death.

48. "JANE." This inscription has always been supposed to refer to the Lady Jane Grey.

60. "THOMAS FITZGERALD," who was eldest son to Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, and lord deputy of Ireland. Together with his five uncles, he was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, on February 3, 1537.

61. Near to the last inscription we find the name "ADAM : SEDBAR : ABBAS : JOREVALL. 1537."

He was the last Abbot of Jervaulx, in Yorkshire. Together with others, he was executed at Tyburn, in June of the same year.

66. This device, which consists of a great A upon a bell, under the word Thomas, evidently refers to Blessed Thomas Abel, who was domestic chaplain to Queen Catherine of Aragon. On July 30, 1540, he was executed in Smithfield (see p. 31).

67. "DOCTOR COOKE," in all probability Laurence Cooke, Prior of Doncaster, who, with five others, attainted by Parliament for their denial of the King's supremacy, was hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn in 1540.

78. "JOHN PRINE, 1568." He is said to have been a Catholic priest, who was imprisoned during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The accompanying inscription reads : "*Verbum Domini manet.*" (The word of the Lord remains.)

81. The inscription reads : "*En Dieu est mon esperance*" (In God is my hope) ; and bears the name "PAGE." Ven. Francis Page was, probably, a priest, who was executed at Tyburn in the year 1602. The Ven. Anne Line, a widow, had been put to death in the previous year for harbouring him.

84. "JOHN COLLETON, Prist, 1581, Jvly 22." Father Colleton was tried with Father Campion and others, but was acquitted. He survived until the year 1635.

Tower Green.—It was here that the scaffold was erected for the execution of those who "suffered on the green within the Tower." The place where they suffered is protected by a railing, within which is a stone, bearing the following words :—"Site of the

ancient scaffold ; on this spot Queen Anne Boleyn was beheaded on the 19th May, 1536."

Besides Anne Boleyn, there were executed on this spot Blessed Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, May 27, 1541 ; Queen Katharine Howard, and Jane, Viscountess Rochford, February 13, 1542 ; Lady Jane Grey, February 12, 1554 ; and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, February 25, 1601.

This spot teems with memories of historical interest. When Queen Mary arrived at the Tower in the course of her solemn entry into London, she saw kneeling on the green before St. Peter's Church all the state prisoners—male and female, Catholic and Protestant—who had been detained in the Tower during the last two reigns. Bishop Gardiner, in the name of all, addressed a congratulation and supplication to Mary, who burst into tears as she recognised them, and, exclaiming, "Ye are *my* prisoners," raised them one by one, kissed them, and restored them all to liberty.

St. Peter ad Vincula.—(The interior is not open to the public.) This chapel, so called from having been dedicated on the feast of St. Peter's Chains, was erected in the reign of King Henry VIII, and occupies the site of a chapel still more ancient.

Among many other things, King Henry III, in the year 1240, commanded that the royal stalls should be painted and the "little Mary," with her shrine or tabernacle, and the figures of St. Peter, St. Nicholas and St. Catherine newly coloured ; two images of the Blessed Virgin, one of them in a solemn archiepiscopal vesture, were to be made and painted with best colours ; and another image of St. Christopher "holding and carrying Jesus," was also to be made and painted ; before the respective altars of St. Nicholas and St. Catherine two fair tables containing the legends of these Saints were to be painted with the best colours ; and two fair cherubim, with cheerful and pleasant countenances, were to be placed to the right and left of the great cross ; a marble font, with marble columns, well and decently sculptured, was also to be provided.

The chief interest attaching to this chapel arises from its being the burial-place of most of those distinguished persons who had fallen victims owing to their inability to accommodate themselves to the views on religious matters of their sovereign, to ambition, or crime, either within the Tower or in its immediate precincts. Besides those mentioned there was also another cause which swelled the number of victims. The despicable jealousy of her own sex which marked the character of Elizabeth, who, Britton and Brayley observe, "although as a sovereign entitled to our praise and gratitude, cannot as a woman command our respect and esteem," was another cause which tended to increase the number of captives in this dreaded fortress. In 1581, when Sir Owen Hopton was Lieutenant of the Tower, he compelled his prisoners by military force to attend divine service here, and then said in derision "that he had no one under his custody who would not willingly enter a Protestant Church."

We read that, in May, 1615, evidently as a concession, a prisoner was allowed to attend divine service in the Church, and again, that in 1637 Dr. Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, was imprisoned in the Tower, "where he remained above three years without once attending divine service in the chapel or receiving the sacrament, which occasioned no little scandal." During the alterations made in 1877, a small piscina was discovered; close by it is a hagnioscope or squint: this was to enable the officiating priest at our Lady's altar to observe the high altar.

On a memorial tablet near the entrance door is a "List of Remarkable Persons buried in this chapel." Included in it we observe the names of Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, 1534; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, 1535; Sir Thomas More, 1535; Queen Anne Boleyn, 1536; Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, 1540; Margaret of Clarence, Countess of Salisbury, 1541; Queen Katharine Howard, 1542; Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, 1572; Philip, Earl of

Arundel, 1595; Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1601; and James, Duke of Monmouth, 1685.

The remains of Philip, Earl of Arundel, reposed here till the year 1624, when, by the interest of his son and successor, the body was given up to his faithful widow, Anne Dacres, who brought it first to her house at West Horsley in Surrey. Here it was placed in an iron coffin, and shortly afterwards taken and re-interred in a vault beneath the beautiful collegiate chapel in the parish church of Arundel, where it still remains.

The inscription placed on the coffin may be rendered in English: "The venerated remains of Philip, formerly Earl of Arundel and Surrey, were deposited in this chest, by the care of his well-beloved wife Anne, when, by the signal piety of his son Thomas, permission was obtained from King James. They were translated from the Tower of London to this place in the year 1624. On account of his profession of the Catholic faith he was first imprisoned, then condemned to pay a fine of 10,000 pounds, and at length was most unjustly sentenced to death, under Elizabeth. After a life of ten years and six months, very holily and piously spent in the severest bondage in the same Tower, on the 19th of October, 1595, he fell asleep in the Lord, not without a suspicion that his death was caused by poison."

Mr. Doyne C. Bell, in his "Notices of the Historic Persons buried in the Chapel," shows the position of the graves of those buried immediately before the altar, as under:—

ALTAR

Duke of Monmouth
1685

	Queen		Duke of	Queen		Countess
Lord	Ann	Duke of	Northum-	Katharine	Lady	of
Rochford	Boleyn	Somerset	berland	Howard	Rochford	Salisburv
1536	1536	1551	1553	1542	1542	1541
Lord	Lady					
Guildford	Jane	Duke of	Duke of	Earl of	Earl of	Sir T.
Dudley	Grey	Suffolk	Norfolk	Arundel	Essex	Overbury
1554	1554	1554	1572	1595	1601	1613

A detailed account of the relics believed to be those of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, is given in the same work.

Macaulay observes : " In truth there is no sadder spot on earth than this little cemetery. Death is there associated, not, as in Westminster, and St. Paul's, with genius and virtue, with public veneration and with imperishable renown ; not, as in our humblest churches and churchyards, with everything that is most endearing in social and domestic charities : but with whatever is darkest in human nature and in human destiny ; with the savage triumph of implacable enemies, with the inconstancy, the ingratitude, the cowardice of friends, with all the miseries of fallen greatness and of blighted fame. Thither have been carried through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following the bleeding relics of men, who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts."

Behind the chapel there was, at an early period, a small cell or hermitage, of which we find frequent mention in records of the reign of King Henry III. It was inhabited by a recluse, who daily received a penny of the King's charity. In one place it is noticed as the reclusory, or hermitage of St. Peter, in another, as that of St. Eustace. It was in the King's gift, and seems to have been bestowed on either sex.

The King's House, which is not open to the public, is situated in the south-west angle of the inner enclosure. In a room on the second floor are some rude paintings, a monument erected to commemorate the Gunpowder Plot, and a bust of James I. It was from this part of the Tower that Lord Nithsdale, by the ingenuity of his wife, was enabled, in 1716, to make his escape on the evening before the day fixed for his execution.

Wakefield (formerly the Hall) Tower.—This, the sole relic, with the exception of the White Tower, of

Gundulph's Norman buildings, is the storehouse for the Regalia, which include St. Edward's crown ; the Prince of Wales's crown ; the Queen Consort's crown ; the Queen's diadem : St. Edward's staff, surmounted by an orb and cross, the former of which is said to contain a fragment of the True Cross ; the Rod of Equity, or Sceptre with the Dove ; the Queen's sceptre and cross ; the Queen's ivory sceptre ; an ancient sceptre ; the orb ; the Queen's orb ; the Sword of Mercy, or Curtana ; the Swords of Justice, ecclesiastical and temporal ; the armillæ, or coronation bracelets ; the royal spurs ; the ampulla, in the form of an eagle, and the gold anointing spoon (a relic of the ancient regalia) ; the gold salt-cellar of state and other coronation plate. Also a service of sacramental plate. There is also displayed an interesting series of stars, collars and badges of the different orders of knighthood. The recess in the chamber where the plate and jewels are displayed is the traditional scene of the murder of King Henry VI. At one time the national records were preserved in this building.

Queen's Stairs (South-eastern angle of the Tower).—Retracing our steps towards the main entrance, the first object which claims our attention is a flight of steps leading from the water to Tower wharf ; it was by these steps that, in former days, sovereigns and other great personages made their State entries into the Tower, crossing the Tower wharf and entering by the gate opposite the steps, which in former days were much wider than they now are.

The Lanthorn (or Lantern) Tower (Inner Ward) is a new building constructed on the model of the old one. The earlier tower fell into decay at the end of the sixteenth century, or a little later, and was demolished by Oliver Cromwell. It was here that the kings "lay" or lodged when they slept in the Tower on the eve of their coronation. From this tower extended two other buildings ; one, which was called the Queen's Gallery, joined the Salt Tower on the east, and the triangular space between was known

as the Queen's Garden. Nearly at right angles to this, and reaching to the White Tower, was the Queen's Lodging, and it was here that Anne Boleyn was lodged at her coronation and again at her fall. Her trial took place in the hall, which extended from the Lanthorn Tower westward towards the Wakefield Tower. Originally there was "a vault for prisoners on the ground, a royal bedchamber on the main floor, a guard-room for archers and balisters in the upper story, and a round turret over these for the burning lights," whence this Tower derives its name.

Cradle Tower (Outer Ward).—Here, at the same time that Father Gerard lay close by in the Salt Tower, a good Catholic gentleman, Francis Arden, was imprisoned. The two contrived to communicate. Packets were exchanged, and in the paper wrappers were messages written in orange juice, which became visible when held to the fire. Mrs. Arden, who was allowed to visit her husband, brought in, little by little, all that was required for the Holy Sacrifice. On the feast of Our Lady's Nativity, Father Gerard was allowed to visit his fellow-prisoner, and he had the great happiness of saying Mass in Arden's cell. At that Mass he consecrated twenty-two Hosts for his own use, taking them with him on his return to the Salt Tower, and preserving the pyx in a recess in the tower cell—that of Father Walpole, to which he had access. Eventually, by bribing the gaolers, Father Gerard was transferred to the Cradle Tower, from the roof of which he was able to communicate by signs with friends outside. On a prearranged night in 1597, two lay brothers, John Lily and Richard Fulwood, came to the Tower wharf in a boat. Father Gerard and Arden were ready on the roof of the tower, and a rope was thrown to them by means of which both crossed the moat, which was then filled with water, and got safely away.

This tower contains a fine thirteenth-century groined roof.

The Well Tower (Outer Ward) was at one time "a

prison lodging." The lower part, which is all that remains of the original work, is in a very perfect state ; it exhibits a curious specimen of the architecture of the middle of the thirteenth century. It consists of a vaulted apartment about fifteen feet long by ten wide, and a small adjoining cell made in the thickness of the ballium wall, the entrance to which is now bricked up.

Galleyman Tower (Outer Ward).—This tower, which is miscalled in some guide-books the Develin Tower, does not appear to have been used as a prison. The present building is of modern date ; and there appears to remain very little, if any, of the original structure. The lower part of the **Salt Tower** (Inner Ward) was the prison for some time of Father Henry Walpole, who suffered torture in the Tower no less than fourteen times. In a good-sized room on the floor above, which contains a noble chimney-piece, Father Gerard was imprisoned. From here he was led to the Council Chamber, examined, and, on his refusal to answer questions, was taken through an underground passage to a cellar under the White Tower and there hung by the hands for five hours ; the torture was repeated on the two following days. Ven. Edward Oldcorn, Father Garnet and other priests were imprisoned in this building.

Broad Arrow Tower (Inner Ward).—The lower story of this alone is in the original condition ; the upper part has been rebuilt. The vestiges of numerous inscriptions on its walls, Britton remarks, show that it was especially so used (for the confinement of State prisoners) in the reigns of the sister Queens, Mary and Elizabeth. Blessed Thomas Forde was imprisoned here in 1582. Together with other Catholics, he was executed for denying the supremacy of Queen Elizabeth in matters of faith.

The Constable Tower (Inner Ward) was originally the official residence of the Constable. At no time does it appear that the older building, of which not a trace remains, sheltered any prominent prisoner.

The office of Governor or Constable has been held by many noted men, many of whom were ecclesiastics. The Constables had many privileges. Those who wish for further information on this subject will find much material in the works of Bayley, and of Britton and Brayley.

We now come, in order, to the three lines of fortifications in the outer ward, which are known respectively as *Brass Mount*, *North Bastion* and *Legge Mount*.

Martin Tower (Inner Ward).—This is the place where Blessed Ralph Sherwin was confined. He was arrested in London in 1580, and was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and afterwards taken to the Tower, where he was several times racked. Together with Father Campion and five other priests, he was tried on November 14, 1581, condemned six days later, and executed, together with Father Campion and Father Briant, on the first day of the following month. In May, 1582, seven other priests were conveyed from the Tower to various places of execution; and five seminary priests in March, 1584, were conducted thence to the scaffold. Colonel Blood, in 1671, made his famous attempt to steal the Regalia whilst they were lodged in the basement of this tower.

The Brick or Burbage Tower (Inner Ward) was the tower in which Sir Walter Raleigh was confined. His gaoler wrote that he had removed "this man to safer and higher lodgings (*i.e.* the Brick Tower), which, though it seems nearer Heaven, yet there is no means of escape from thence for him to any place but Hell." Amongst others shut up in this tower were William Watson and William Clarke, two secular priests.

Bowyer Tower (Inner Ward).—So called from having been assigned in early times as the residence of the master and provider of the King's bows. Of the ancient tower, the basement floor is the only part remaining, the upper story being a modern brick edifice. It was in the basement dungeon according

to a long-standing tradition, that the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV, was drowned in "a butt of malmsey wine." But there is a still more dreary vault beneath the floor, closed by a trap-door opening upon a flight of steps.

Flint Tower (Inner Ward).—The present brick structure was constructed in 1796, when the older one was pulled down. This tower enjoyed an unenviable notoriety. For some reason or another it was known as "Little Hell," a nickname which shows the opinion which was held of it as a place of detention and, probably, punishment. None of the spaces and confined dungeons which were contained in it were more than six feet in depth.

The Devereux (or Develin) Tower (Inner Ward) derives its present appellation from having been the prison, in 1601, of Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, at one time the favourite of Queen Elizabeth; it still retains much of the appearance of having been used as a state prison. The walls on the basement floor are eleven feet in thickness. In this tower is one of the curiosities of the place—an ancient kitchen with a vaulted ceiling, beneath which is the dungeon.

Looking towards the west, we observe three streets converging on Tower Hill. Nearly opposite, within the Tower precincts, stood the Conning or Con Tower, a building of timber, opening into a narrow passage. It led at right angles to the north. Turning towards the south, at the foot of the hill, where the entrance gates now are, was the Lion Gate. It was here that the prisoners, who were condemned to die on Tower Hill, were handed over to the civic authorities for execution. When Bishop Fisher was brought out by the Lieutenant for his execution, it was on this spot that, whilst waiting for the Sheriff, he took out his Testament and asked our Lord to send him some word to comfort him. He opened on the text: "This is eternal life, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent," and that, he said, was enough to satisfy his soul. It was here, too, that

on his way to the scaffold a charitable woman offered Sir Thomas More a cup of wine, which he declined, saying that Christ drank only vinegar and gall. Another woman took this very fitting occasion to importune him about some papers, which she said were left with him when he was Chancellor. "Have patience with me, good woman," said he, "and in another hour the King will relieve me from all trouble about your papers and all things else." This also was the scene of the parting with his daughter of the Ven. James Fenn, who, being left a widower, had become a priest. On February 12, 1584, when he was already laid on the hurdle at Tower Gate, he looked up, and recognised his little daughter Frances, standing in the crowd. She was weeping bitterly, but he kept his habitual calm and peaceful expression as, lifting his pinioned hands as far as possible, he gave her his blessing, and so was drawn away.

Immediately on our right, within the enclosure, is the site of the

Scaffold on Tower Hill.—In the *Panorama of London* (1543), by Anthony Van den Wyngaerde, there is a most interesting view of the Tower of London, as it then was, with the Abbey of Bermondsey on the opposite bank, and Greenwich Palace lower down the river. One of the most prominent objects to be seen in the vicinity of the Tower is the gruesome place of execution near by. The soil beneath it "is richer in blood than many a great battle-field; for out upon this sod has been poured from generation to generation a stream of the noblest life in our land." —(Dixon.) We have only space to note a few of the scenes which have taken place in this historic spot.

When Bishop Fisher was come to the foot of the steps by which he was to go up to the scaffold, they who carried him offered to help him up. But he said, "Nay, masters, seeing I am come so far, let me alone, and you shall see me shift for myself well enough." "As he was going up the stairs, the south-east sun shone full in his face: on which he said

to himself, holding up his hands, '*Accedite ad eum et illuminamini, et facies vestrae non confundentur.*' (Draw near to him and be enlightened, and your faces shall not be confounded.)" After he had addressed the people, he kneeled down on both his knees and repeated certain prayers, among which was the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and the 31st Psalm. The executioner at one blow cut asunder his slender neck, which bled so abundantly "that it was wondered so much blood should issue out of so slender and lean a body." According to Cardinal Pole, "the lifeless body was treated with every description of contumely, and by direction of the King was exposed entirely naked at the place of execution, as a sight for the rabble to gaze at."

Blessed Thomas More's bright wit, the testimony of a still brighter conscience, attended him to the last. His confinement had weakened him so much that he required help in ascending the scaffold. "Assist me up," said he to the Lieutenant of the Tower, "and in coming down I will shift for myself." His remark to the executioner when his head was actually on the block is the best known of all his utterances:—"Wait till I put aside my beard, for *that* never committed treason."

Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were both beheaded. Generally our martyrs were hanged, drawn and quartered, which was the punishment for high treason. When Sir Thomas More was told that the King had commuted his sentence into death by beheading, he said, "God keep all my family from like mercies!"

On this spot, on July 28, 1540, perished Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex. Seized on June 10, 1540, whilst sitting in the Council Chamber at Westminster, he was conveyed to the Tower, where he underwent an examination. Shortly afterwards he was attainted in Parliament as one whom "the King had raised from a base degree to great dignities and high trust, but who had now, by a great number of witnesses,

persons of honour, found him to be the most corrupt traitor and deceiver of the King and crown that had been known during the whole reign," and "also, being a detestable heretic, has dispersed into all shires false and erroneous books, many of which were printed beyond seas, tending to the discredit of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar and other articles of religion declared by the King by the authority of Parliament."

In the British Museum are preserved numerous "remembrances" in Cromwell's own handwriting, which are connected with persons confined in the Tower during the time that he was in power:—

"Item, certayn persons to be sent to the Towre for the further examenacyon of the Abbot of Glaston-[bury]."

"To send Gendon to the Towre to be rakkyd, and to sende Mr. Bellesys, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Peter to assyst Mr. Levetennaunt in the 'xamynacion."

"Item, the Abbot Redyng to be sent down to be tryed and executed at Redyng with his complycys."

"Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tryed at Glaston, and also executed there with his complycys."

It was Thomas Cromwell who first suggested to Henry VIII that, since the Pope would not grant his divorce, he should throw off his obedience to Rome and separate England from the Holy See. When the King had done so, he made Cromwell, although a layman, his Viceregent, or Vicar-General. As such he presided at the Synods of the Church, and signed his name to their decrees before any of the archbishops and bishops. In September 1538 it was he who ordered the destruction of all sacred images. Cromwell was beheaded "by a ragged and boocherly miser, whiche very ungoodly perfourmed the office."

Another illustrious victim who was beheaded on Tower Hill on December 29, 1680, was Ven. William Howard, Viscount Stafford. The victim of Titus Oates, "he perished in the firmest denial of what had been laid to his charge, and that in so cogent

and persuasive a manner, that all the beholders believed his words, and grieved his destiny."

In the year 1685, in view of the proved perjury of Titus Oates, a bill to reverse the attainder of Ven. Viscount Stafford was passed in a very full house, by the same tribunal which had previously pronounced his condemnation. All the prisoners, however, who were led out from the Tower for execution were not put to death on Tower Hill. On July 30, 1540, Dr. Robert Barnes, Thomas Gerard, and William Jerome, all apostate priests, were dragged on hurdles from the Tower, and burned in Smithfield for denying transubstantiation. Accompanying them to the place of execution were Blessed Thomas Abel, Edward Powell and Richard Fetherstone, who were hanged, drawn and quartered for denying the King's spiritual supremacy. Blessed Thomas Abel was the author of a work entitled *Invicta Veritas*, an answer to the most famous Universities that by no manner of law it may be lawful for King Henry to be divorced from the Queen's Grace, his lawful and very wife. A letter from him to Cromwell, who was himself executed two days earlier, is still extant : in it he begs for some slight amelioration of his "close prison," *i.e.*, "licence to go to church and say Mass here within the Tower and for to lie in some house upon the green." Anne Askew was twice racked in the Tower and finally burned in Smithfield for having denied the corporeal presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Thus Protestants and Catholics alike perished for differing from Henry's religious opinions.

"Never did any event recorded in its diversified annals consign to the Tower more occupants, or crimson with more blood the neighbouring hill," than followed after Henry VIII "asserted his independence of the Papal authority, seized the monastic revenues, and declared himself the head of the Church of England."—(Britton and Brayley).

The last object of interest in connection with our visit to the Tower is the church of **All Hallows Barking**,

which derives its surname from having been founded by the nuns of Barking Abbey, who added a chantry in honour of the Blessed Virgin where the north porch now is.

On the day of Bishop Fisher's execution "about eight of the clock in the evening commandment came from the King's Commissioners, to such as watched about the dead body (for it was still watched with many halberds and weapons), that they should cause it to be buried. Whereupon two of the watchers took it upon a halberd between them, and so carried it to a churchyard by, called All Hallows Barkin, where, on the north side of the churchyard, hard by the wall, they digged a grave with their halberds." Weever states that the body was afterwards removed to "the chapel of St. Peter" (ad Vincula).

And here we take leave of the Tower, thanking God that we live in times when we can practise freely the Holy Faith for which the Blessed Martyrs suffered so nobly, and shed their blood so freely.

AUTHORITIES CONSULTED

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N.B.—Certain parts of the Tower of London can be visited free on Saturdays. On other days charges for admission are made.

Guides uniform with the present, Canterbury Cathedral, by the Rev. John Morris, S.J., and Westminster Abbey, by C. L. Jones.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY

A GUIDE FOR CATHOLICS

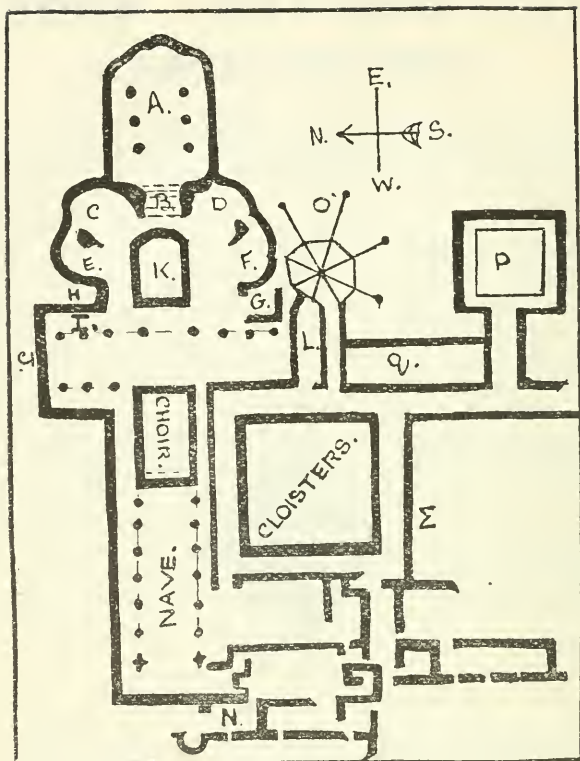
By C. L. JONES



LONDON

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- A.—Henry VII's Chapel.
 B.—Scala Coeli.
 C.—St. Paul's Chapel.
 D.—St. Nicholas' Chapel.
 E.—St. John the Baptist's Chapel.
 F.—St. Edmund's Chapel.
 G.—St. Benedict's Chapel.
 H.—The Islip Chapel.
 I.—Chapel of SS. Andrew, Michael, and John.
 J.—North Entrance (Solomon's Porch).
 K.—St. Edward the Confessor's Chapel.
 L.—St. Faith's Chapel.
 M.—Ruins of the Refectory.
 N.—Jerusalem Chamber.
 O.—Chapter House.
 P.—Little Cloisters.
 Q.—Chamber of the Pyx.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.¹

A GUIDE FOR CATHOLICS.

BY C. L. JONES.

"The devout King destined to God that place, both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London, and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it, with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world great variety of wares and merchandise of all sorts to the city adjoining: but chiefly for the love of the Chief Apostle, whom he revered with a special and singular affection."

THE late Dean Stanley aptly observed: "There are, it may be, some buildings which surpass Westminster Abbey (or, to give it its full title, 'The Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter in Westminster') in beauty or grandeur; there are others certainly which surpass it in depth and sublimity of association; but there is none which has been entwined by so many continuous threads with the history of a whole nation."

The first Christian church built on the site on which now stands Westminster Abbey was founded by Sebert, King of the East Saxons, in or about 616, to the honour of God and St. Peter and of all God's Saints.

The second church was the work of St. Edward the Confessor, the type and representative of Catholic England, the Saint and King with whom its purest Catholic greatness expired. St. Edward's connection with the Abbey began in this wise. He had long contemplated making, like so many of his predecessors, a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Peter,

¹ A lecture for use with the Magic Lantern, illustrated by fifty slides, may be obtained from the C.T.S. Dépôt, 72 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

and had bound himself by vow to carry out his purpose. His nobles wisely urged him to desist, pleading the danger of his leaving the kingdom in such troubled times. So the King sent a deputation to consult on the matter with the reigning Pope, who absolved the King from his vow on the condition that he should found or restore a monastery in his kingdom in honour of the Prince of the Apostles. Edward agreed to this, and the Abbey of Thorney Island was the place selected for the fulfilment of the Pope's injunction. Thus it came about that Thorney or Westminster became the outward manifestation of St. Edward's love for Rome and St. Peter, and a lasting proof of the filial devotion and obedience of the English King to St. Peter's successor, the Roman Pontiff.

Like so many famous churches, the origin of Westminster is interwoven with legend. That of the consecration must not be passed over. With that filial love for St. Peter which characterized our countrymen till they were robbed of their faith, King Sebert had determined to consecrate his church in honour of Christ's Vicar, the Prince of the Apostles. In prayer and fasting the eve of the dedication had been passed, and the King, together with the Bishop and his monks and the crowd of converts whom they had won to God, was at rest, preparatory to the glad solemnity of the morrow. In the silent watches of the night a poor fisherman, Edric by name, was watching his nets by the Lambeth shore, when a traveller, aged and venerable, drew near, and asked the man to ferry him across the river to the new minster on Thorney Island. Together they crossed the broad stream, and, bidding the fisherman await his return, the stranger took his way to the church.

On his return, the stranger, none other than St. Peter himself, bade the boatman tell Bishop Mellitus that the church was already hallowed; proof whereof he would find in certain marks of consecration on its walls and floor. The story is well told in Dean Stanley's *Historical Memorials of*

Westminster Abbey. In after times a quaint ceremony perpetuated the memory of that wondrous night, when year by year, on St. Peter's day, a deputation of Thames fishermen carried to the high altar of his church the silver-coated salmon, which legend had connected with old Edric's name.

The third and present structure was not opened for divine service until 1269.

The two-fold character of Westminster Abbey is well exhibited in a letter of Edward III who describes it not only as "the Monastery Church of Westminster," but also as the "special chapel of our principal palace."

The national feeling is expressed in a letter of Edward IV to the Pope (1478), wherein he writes of the Monastery of Westminster as "placed before the eyes of the whole world of Englishmen" as an institution any favour to which would be "welcome to all of English blood."

From St. Dunstan's days till its suppression, the life of a great Benedictine monastery went on unceasingly at Westminster. Those who to-day regard that glorious pile chiefly as a sort of national mausoleum, are rather apt to forget the unwearied round of prayer and praise, of chant and sacrifice, which rose to God from choir and altar for so many centuries.

Besides the frequent daily services and their work in the cloister, the monks also assisted in those occupations on which the daily living of the monastery depended—in bakehouse or brewhouse; and some might even lend a hand in the constant building operations, as we hear of the vaulting at Gloucester being completed, not by ordinary workmen, but by the spirited energy of the monks themselves.

The history of Westminster Abbey would be, if fully told, almost the history of England. We can only hope that this little guide may be of service to those who visit it with a view to observing its old, its Catholic associations.

Before entering the church, we shall first pass the

west front of the Abbey, and proceed to Dean's Yard in order to visit the Cloisters, Chapter House, and Conventual buildings.

The Cloisters.—These were the home, the workshop, the library, the school of the monks.

In the west cloister sat the novices with their master, beneath the great crucifix, the gift of Richard Merston. In the south cloister is the entrance to the refectory, which we must see later. As we pass along, let us say a *De profundis* over the great stone, "Long Meg" it is called, which marks the resting-place of Abbot Byrcheston and twenty-six of his monks, who died in the awful pestilence known as the Black Death.

In the sunny north cloister, nestling beneath the nave, sat the graver students of the house, the writers or illuminators of books, the historians and artists of the convent. Here it was, maybe, that those skilful architects, Fathers Richard Whityngton and Richard de Hawerden, drew their plans for the completion of the abbey church, when my lord the King determined that the work must be resumed. Here was also the Prior's seat. A row of bookcases "wherein did lye as well the old annycient written Doctors of the Church as other profane literature with dyverse other holie men's works," stood by the wall; and after dinner the monks sat in their "pewes" and studied "all the afternoone till evensong tyme. This was their exercise every day." From the eastern cloister a number of apartments open. Let us take them in order, and begin with the beautiful Chapter House.

The Chapter House.—This is a noble octagonal building, approached from the cloister by a vaulted vestibule and a double flight of steps. The vaulted passage within is the burial-place of Edwin, the friend and adviser of Edward the Confessor, and first Abbot here after the King rebuilt the church.

We now enter the "incomparable" Chapter House, as Matthew of Westminster justly calls it. Observe its noble proportions, and the graceful central

shaft bearing up the vaulted roof. What was the purpose of this great hall? It was the meeting-place of the community for their "chapter," or as an abbot (Ware) of Westminster called it, "the workshop of the Holy Spirit in which the sons of God are gathered together; it is the house of confession, the house of obedience, mercy, and forgiveness, the house of unity, peace, and tranquillity, where the brethren make satisfaction for their faults." Here nearly all the business of the Abbey was transacted; here the monks asked for profession; here the priors of Great Malvern, Hurley, and Sudbury, dependent monasteries or cells of Westminster, came with their accounts to the annual chapter of the community; here offices were assigned to the brethren; in fact, all the affairs of the house, whether relating to their own church, to their priories, or to the numerous parish churches, such as Wandsworth and Battersea, which they owned up and down the country, were discussed in this monastic parliament. And this reminds us that for centuries the Chapter House of Westminster was the meeting-place of the English House of Commons. Strangely bound up with the national life was that of St. Peter's Abbey. In 1256, Parliament had already met in the great cloister; in 1263 the Commons of London assembled in the garth; and in 1282 the Commons of England held their first meeting in the Chapter House, then newly erected. From the time of Edward III they were allowed this privilege, on condition that they kept the building in due repair.

Here, too, were sometimes held the General Chapters of all the Black Monks in England, as in 1421, when sixty abbots and priors and more than three hundred monks were present; and here, too, came in his day, Wolsey, to receive his cardinal's hat and hold his Legatine Court. How different were the scenes enacted here a little later when the Commons were in debate! for it was in this place that they, terrorized by Henry VIII, and forgetting

the teaching of their fathers and the witness of all Christendom, in 1534, passed their Act by which it was enacted that the King's Highness be Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, and further that "if any person, after the 1st day of February next coming, did maliciously wish, will, or desire, by words or writing, to deprive the King, the Queen, &c., of their dignity, title or name of their royal estates, every such person should be adjudged a traitor."

The original indictments on which Blessed Cardinal Fisher, Sir Thomas More, Richard Reynolds, and the Carthusians were tried and condemned still exist in the Public Record Office; they were accused and found guilty of denying the King's Supremacy over the Church, and they died for nothing else.

That there was no doubt amongst the people that another of Henry's martyrs died because he would not acknowledge as a part of the Gospel that the King was head of the Church, is shown by the wording of one of the two doggerel verses set on the gallows from which the Blessed Friar Forest, O.S.F., hung in Smithfield:—

"And Forest the frier,
That obstinate lyre,
That wilfully shal be dead,
In his contumacie
The Gospell doth deny
The Kyng to be Supreme Head."

In this connection it may be observed that the Franciscans zealously opposed the divorce between Henry VIII and Queen Catherine; for which reason, when the monasteries were suppressed, they were expelled before all others, and above two hundred of them were thrown into jails.

The painted windows are modern. In order that the scenes depicted therein may be identified, a list of the subjects illustrated is here given.

Beginning with the first large window filled with stained glass on the left—the window which has St. Anselm in the upper circle—the historical scenes are: (1) The coronation of the Conqueror in the

Abbey. (2) The miracle of St. Wulstan. He was the only Saxon bishop who was allowed to retain his See, and the legend says that, refusing to give up his crozier to any one but the Confessor, from whom he had received it, he laid it on his tomb. There it miraculously stuck, and no one could lift it, until when he stretched out his hand for it, it was easily raised. He was therefore allowed to retain it. (3) The conflict of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, referred to further on. (4) The gathering of the Crusaders under Cœur de Lion.

In the next window the greatest man of the century is represented by Roger Bacon, in his habit as a Franciscan friar.

The historic scenes are : (1) The signing of Magna Charta. (2) Henry III examined the plans of the Abbey. (3) The little Prince Alfonso, son of Edward I, hanging up the coronet of Llewellyn. (4) The placing of the Stone of Fate in the coronation chair.

In the next window, dominated by Chaucer, the scenes are : (1) The monks in the Chapter House. (2) The House of Commons in the Chapter House. (3) The Black Prince carried to the Parliament. (4) Richard II consulting the Hermit of Westminster before meeting Wat Tyler.

Over the fourth window is Caxton. The scenes are : (1) The death of Henry IV in the Jerusalem Chamber. (2) Henry V's Council. (3) Henry VI choosing his grave in Westminster—the grave in which he was not destined to lie. (4) Elizabeth Woodville, with her son, Richard, Duke of York, taking sanctuary in the College Hall.

Over the fifth window is Shakespeare.

The scenes are : (1) The marriage of Henry VII. (2) Cardinal Wolsey's Convocation in the Chapter House. (3) Dissolution of the Monasteries. (4) The funeral of Edward VI.

The window—partly filled with stained glass—is dominated by the Venerable Bede, whilst Queen

Victoria is represented in the circle in the small window over the doorway.

The figures on each side of the entrance representing an angel and the Blessed Virgin Mary (or an angel) are ancient. The central figure is modern, but represents what was formerly there.

The paintings at the east end, over the stalls of the Abbot and his four chief officers, are of the 14th century, and represent the Seraphim round the throne of the Saviour.

Those round the wall were painted in the 15th century by one of the monks of the convent, named John of Northampton, and represent scenes from the Revelation of St. John, with pictures of fishes, birds and beasts underneath.

The floor, which is usually covered, is one of the finest encaustic tile pavements now remaining.

Before leaving the Chapter House, a close inspection should be made of the cartoon representing the original appearance of the figure and enamels upon the William de Valence tomb in St. Edmund's Chapel, which we shall see presently.

Beneath the Chapter House the ancient royal treasury was situated; and in a vaulted apartment to the south, and beneath the dormitory of the monks—you can see the door to the right of the entrance to the chapter-house—lay the Chapel of the Pyx. This massive building, which was only thrown open to the public in 1909, dates from St. Edward's day; it contains the only altar of the many which once were found within the Abbey. Hard by, the Norman undercroft of the Abbey has been opened for inspection more recently still (in 1910). Here is to be seen a small collection of effigies, &c., connected with the Abbey.

We must hurry along, for there is still much to see. We pass to the "little cloisters," a small court lying to the south of the Pyx. Here the old and ailing brethren lived; their hall and chambers were on the south side overlooking the gardens; on

the east lay the chapel of St. Katharine, itself as large as many a parish church.

It was once a very memorable place, the scene of more than twenty provincial councils. In one of these, in the reign of Henry II, occurred the dispute for precedence between Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger, Archbishop of York. The scene is commemorated in one of the windows of the Chapter House—from that time (1175) the Primate of Canterbury was entitled “Primate of *all* England,” and the Prelate of York, “Primate of England.”

Ruins of the Refectory.—This was a noble room, parallel with the nave of the church, and rebuilt with the funds bequeathed by Cardinal Langham. Hither came at Pentecost a deputation of the good people of Stepney, Whitechapel, and Stratford to dine with the monks; and on the Feast of St. Peter's Chains the rangers of Windsor royal forest used to bring up to the high table the two bucks annually sent to the monks, ever since Abbot Edwin exchanged their property at Windsor for the mill at Stratford and certain lands in Essex. On St. Peter's Day the Thames fishermen were feasted here after laying their gift of salmon before the high altar: the monks had a tithe of all the salmon caught in the Thames between Gravesend and Staines.

Abbot's House.—There will be time to look around us before we enter the church itself. Here we are in front of the Abbot's house, the residence in Catholic days of the father of this great community of four or five score monks, of the administrator of the great estates of the Abbey, of this high lord of Parliament, this prelate of the exempt Abbey of Westminster. Great men were some of those who dwelt here, like Abbot William of Colchester, who with the Abbot of St. Mary's, York, and the Cathedral Prior of Worcester, and retinue of sixty persons, monks and servants, was sent by the King to

represent him and the English Benedictines at the Council of Constance; or that other famous man, Abbot Edmund de Kirton, one of the English deputies to the Council of Basle and among the most famous of our fifteenth-century preachers. Let us now pass on to the Jerusalem Chamber, an apartment in the Abbot's house.

Jerusalem Chamber.—Henry IV, preparatory to setting out on the crusade whereby he hoped to expiate his usurpation of the throne, had come to the Abbey to visit St. Edward's shrine. There, on March 19, 1413, he was seized by a fit and carried to the Abbot's house and laid on a pallet before the fire in this apartment. We can picture the scene—the old King, shrunken and leprous, lying there, with his son, wild Prince Hal, beside him. Holy Mass is being celebrated, and the King's sight is failing; he cannot follow the sacred rite, so his son assists him. "My Lord," he whispers, "he has just consecrated the Body of our Lord; I entreat you to worship Him by Whom kings reign and princes rule." The monarch raised himself from the couch, and stretched forth his hands towards the altar. But his end was come; he called his son to his side, gave him his parting kiss and blessing, and passed away to judgement. Bursting into tears, Prince Henry retired in utter grief to an oratory within the monastery. There he spent the day on his bare knees; with floods of penitential tears he bewailed the sins and follies of his wild youth, and, when nightfall was come, made his confession to a holy monk who lived as a recluse within the precinct, and was by him reconciled to God.

Since the Reformation period this apartment has been used as the meeting-place of the Dean and Chapter.

The North Entrance.—Instead of entering the nave direct, we now make our way to the north entrance, also known as "Solomon's Porch."

On the centre corbel below we observe a figure of

the Blessed Virgin holding her Divine Son in her arms.

Above the side doorways are represented four Abbots who did much for the Abbey. Abbot Laurence, who procured the canonization of St. Edward from Rome, holds the Papal Bull granting the mitre, ring, and gloves to the Abbots of Westminster; Abbot Langham, afterwards a Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury; Abbot Esteney, and Abbot Islip.

We enter by one of the side doorways, as the two great entrances of the central portico are never opened except for the funeral of a sovereign.

Transepts.—In 1269, the new work, the eastern part of the sanctuary and transepts as we see it now, was complete, and on St. Edward's Day the Saint's incorrupt body was translated to the magnificent shrine which had been prepared. The pageant must have been an imposing one. The King had summoned all the prelates, nobles, burgesses, and citizens of his kingdom to attend the re-opening of the Abbey Church. In the presence of this vast multitude, the King, helped by his brother the King of the Romans and his sons, Prince Edmund and Prince Edward, bore on his shoulders the shrine of the Saint, and placed it on the pedestal prepared for it behind the high altar.

We, as Catholics, should remember the meaning of these transepts, or "crosses," which were designed to recall the outstretched arms of our Crucified Lord. In like manner, the nave typifies the broad, upright beam of the Cross, to which our Lord's body was attached; the head of the Cross was represented by the Sanctuary. Further on, the position of the Lady Chapel symbolized the Blessed Virgin supporting the head of her Son when lowered from the Cross.

Nave.—In Henry V's reign the building of the nave was actively proceeded with. Amongst others who assisted in this great work was the immortal Dick Whittington, of whom we read that, dying in

1425, he devoted his estate to the founding of Guildhall and Grey Friars' Libraries; the rebuilding of Newgate; the repair of St. Bartholomew's, and similar purposes.

In this connection, it may not be generally known that the story of Whittington and his cat has, it may be, some foundation in fact. We read in Dr. Brewer's *Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*: "A cat is a ship formed on the Norwegian model, having a narrow stern, projecting quarters, and deep waist. It is strongly built, and used in the coal trade. Harrison speaks of it as a 'cat' or 'catch.' According to tradition, Sir Richard Whittington made his money by trading in coal, which he conveyed in his 'cat' from Newcastle to London. The black faces of his coal-heavers gave rise to the tale about the Moors. In confirmation of this suggestion, it may be added that Whittington was Lord Mayor in 1397, and coal was first made an article of trade from Newcastle to London in 1381."

The nave was used as a place of worship for the laity, and also as the scene of processions on great occasions, but it was not until after the Reformation that it was used as a place of burial.

No more fitting resting-place, no more honoured spot could have been chosen for the nation's tribute to "The Unknown Warrior" than this.

Above the Deanery entrance in the south aisle of the nave is a small oak gallery, called the "Abbot's Pew," built, with the rooms behind it, by Abbot Islip, early in the 16th century.

Poets' Corner.—We now come to Poets' Corner, through which the monks once defiled past the Chapel of St. Faith from their dormitory at the south end.

In this chapel, which has been thrown open to the public in recent years, an old painting is still visible on the eastern wall over the place where the altar stood. A kneeling monk on one side holds an inscription, in Latin, the translation of which reads: "From the burden of my sore transgression, sweet

Virgin, deliver me; make my peace with Christ and blot out mine offence."

Chaucer's is the tomb from which Poets' Corner derives the origin of its peculiar glory. Chaucer died in 1400, but it was not until 1551 that the grey marble tomb and canopy were erected here.

At the feet of Chaucer was laid John Dryden, the father of modern English poetry. Glorious John, who lost much by becoming a Catholic, died in poverty in 1700. We should always respect his memory for his poem, "The Hind and the Panther," in which he typifies the Catholic Church as

"A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchanged,

She fear'd no danger, for she knew no sin."

Close by Dryden's monument rests Francis Beaumont, author of those beautiful lines on the tombs in Westminster:—

"Mortality, behold and fear
What a change of flesh is here!
Think how many royal bones
Sleep within these heaps of stones;
Here they lie, had realms and lands,
Who now want strength to stir their hands; . . .
Here are sands, ignoble things,
Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings:
Here's a world of pomp and state
Buried in dust, once dead by fate."

Choir, Looking West.—The stalls occupied by the Dean and Sub-dean are on either side of the arch. They are alike in general design, but that of the Dean is more elaborate in ornamental detail. It was beneath the Prior's, now the Sub-dean's seat, that in 1378 a deed of sacrilege, the murder of Robert Hawle, took place. After this desecration the Abbey was closed for four months until the rights of sanctuary were again decreed to it.

Choir, Looking East.—We have just had a view of the choir looking west, we now turn to have a view of the choir looking east. Up those steps and within those rails is the spot where every sovereign has entered into the solemn covenant with a free nation which forms part of the Coronation Service.

Tapestry once hung between the pavement and the choir. In ancient times its subjects were incidents in the life of St. Edward the Confessor: St. Edward giving his ring to St. John the Evangelist in the guise of a pilgrim, and St. Edward admonishing the thief stealing his treasure. A figure of St. John as the pilgrim still stands in Henry V's Chantry.

We now see the Sacrarium and the easternmost part of the building containing the Shrine, and still further east Henry's VII's Chapel.

Tomb of Aveline of Lancaster.—The tomb which is the first to be seen on the left-hand side of the Sacrarium, is one of the most interesting in the whole Abbey. The figure, as in all monuments erected before the Reformation period, is recumbent. The occupant of this tomb was, probably, the first bride ever married in the Abbey. Aveline of Lancaster, left an orphan at the age of five years, became in her own right Countess of Albemarle and of Devon, Lady of Skipton in Yorkshire, Sovereign of the Isle of Wight, and possessor of the third part of the barony of Montfichet in Essex. Her effigy rests upon an altar tomb, the head supported by a monk and an angel. She is dressed in a long mantle, and wears the stiff head-dress, the close coif and wimple of the time (probably 1273). Under the head are two cushions, the upper one embroidered with the arms of England, and a lion rampant in a field of gold, being the arms of Rivers, Earl of Devon. The under cushion is figured with the arms of her father, de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle.

Tomb of Aymer de Valence.—The next tomb is that of Aveline's cousin by marriage—Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who was murdered June 23, 1323; he was the son of Henry III's half-brother, William de Valence. The effigy of the Earl, in full armour, is a fine one. Two angels at the head hold his soul, which is represented by a small figure wrapped in a mantle.

Tomb of Edmund Crouchback.—We now come to

the tomb of Aveline's husband, who by means of her possessions, and by his second marriage, founded the great house of Lancaster. The Earl is represented in chain armour; his arms are folded as in prayer. He appears again in the pediment in full armour on horseback.

St. Benedict's Chapel.—Entering the South Ambulatory, the first chapel we see is that of St. Benedict. It is not open to the public, but can easily be seen from the outside.

The effigy of Cardinal Langham lies within. As the Latin epitaph round his tomb sets forth, he was monk, Prior and Abbot of this Abbey; afterwards elected Bishop of London, but Ely being also vacant, he made choice of that see; that he was Primate and Chancellor of England; Priest-Cardinal, afterwards Bishop-Cardinal of Preneste and Nuncio from the Pope; and that he died on the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, in the year 1376, on whose soul God have mercy, and grant him the joys of heaven for the merits of Christ.

In front of the tomb of the Countess of Hertford, which occupies the place of the ancient altar of St. Benedict, is the raised tile floor of that altar.

St. Edmund's Chapel.—The next chapel we see is that of St. Edmund, King of East Anglia. A fine old wooden screen, with a doorway in the centre, separates this chapel from the Ambulatory.

The first tomb on the right is that of William de Valence, half-brother of Henry III. It is the only existing example in England of an effigy in Limoges enamel work. We saw in the Chapter House a cartoon representing the original style of this effigy.

In the centre of the Chapel is the finest brass in the Abbey, representing Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester, widow of the murdered Duke. She died as a nun at Barking, in Essex. Next to her tomb is that of Robert de Waldeby, Archbishop of York, who died in 1397, two years before her own death.

Beneath a diminutive altar-tomb lie two children of Edward III. The alabaster effigies are only twenty inches in length.

St. Paul's Chapel.—Passing by the Chapel of St. Nicholas, with its handsome ancient stone screen, and crossing over to the North Ambulatory, we come to the Chapel of St. Paul.

In the centre of the chapel is the altar-tomb of Sir Giles and Lady Elizabeth Daubeney, whose alabaster effigies surmount the altar-tomb of Purbeck marble. On the soles of the shoes of the knight, who is represented in plate armour, are small figures of monks with rosaries in their hands. The inscription on the tomb concludes with the words, "On whose soules Jesus have mercy—Amen."

Close by, in the North Ambulatory, is the grave of Abbot Esteney. The tomb has been twice opened, in 1706 and again in 1772. The Abbot's body was found entire lying in a chest quilted with yellow satin; "he had on a gown of crimson silk girded to him with a black girdle; on his legs were black silk stockings." Abbot Esteney was Caxton's patron.

Caxton.—Terms still used in the printing trade show traces of Caxton's establishment in Westminster Abbey: the caucus of journeymen printers assembled to decide any point of common interest is styled a "chapel"; the chairman is called the "father of the chapel"; a part of the sheet which has failed to receive the ink, and is therefore left blank, is called "friar"; a black smear or blotch made by leaving too much ink on the part, goes by the name of "monk."

Chapel of St. John the Baptist.—The entrance to the Chapel of St. John the Baptist is beneath a beautiful doorway, through a little passage which is now known, from the words which appear above it, as the Chapel of St. Erasmus. From the number of Abbots whose memorials it contains, this is also styled the Abbot's Chapel. Amongst other tombs of Abbots of Westminster to be found in this spot are

those of George Fascet, Thomas Millyng, Richard Harweden, and William de Colchester.

The Islip Chapel.—Abbot Islip, who died in 1532, only eight years before the dissolution of the monastery, was buried in the chapel which bears his name. His rebus, many times repeated, is to be seen both on the outside of, and inside the chapel. It represents an eye with a slip or twig of a tree grasped by a hand, and a man in the act of falling from the branch of a tree—"I-slip."

Islip did a great deal towards the completion and beautifying of the Abbey. The "Abbot's Pew" in the nave was his work; he also made additions to the Abbot's House. In the upper part of the chapel are stored the famous wax effigies, eleven of which are still to be seen on payment of a small fee.

The next chapels are those of St. John the Evangelist, St. Michael, and St. Andrew. Formerly separate, the dividing walls have been removed, and they now form only one chapel. Here are to be seen some of the most "popular" monuments in the Abbey. These should be inspected, if time permit, with the aid of one or more of the excellent guides which can be obtained on the spot.

St. Edward the Confessor.—In most of the great churches of the Middle Ages we find immediately behind the High Altar a "shrine" containing the relics of the patron saint, or of a great benefactor to the church. In Westminster Abbey this shrine encloses the body of St. Edward the Confessor. This great Saxon king reigned from 1042 to 1066; he was a prince of extreme piety, caring little for State affairs, but worshipped as a saint by his people. Driven from his kingdom by the Danes, after the death of his father, Ethelred, Edward vowed to make a pilgrimage to St. Peter's tomb in Rome if he returned in safety. But once on the throne he found it impossible to leave his subjects, and so, as has been already stated, the Pope released him from his vow on condition that he should found or restore

a monastery to St. Peter. And so Edward rebuilt, with massive circular arches, the West Minster of London, about 1050. It is said to have been the first church built in the shape of a cross in England.

The Shrine.

“Speak low ! the place is holy to the breath
Of awful harmonies, of whispered prayer;
Tread lightly ! for the sanctity of death
Broods with a voiceless influence on the air;
Stern, yet serene ! a reconciling spell,
Each troubled billow of the soul to quell.”

HEMANS.

The tomb was opened by the Abbot in 1101, in the presence of the King, Henry I. A Norman chronicle relates how the body was found entire, the joints as flexible as if it were a body asleep. Proofs of the veneration in which the Saint was held may be found in every reign. But in the time of Henry VIII came the dissolution of the monastery; the shrine was pulled down, the relics which had been kept in the Abbey were buried beneath it, and all the movable gold images and jewels carried off, while the body of the Saint was removed and buried in some obscure spot. Under Mary, the body was restored to its place, and the basement of the shrine was put together again by Abbot Feckenham, who added the present wooden erection over the coffin and the painted decorations, besides other work which has long since disappeared.

By order of James II, the old coffin was enclosed in one strongly clamped with iron, where it has remained undisturbed till this day.

Screen of St. Edward's Chapel.—The screen of St. Edward's Chapel is most interesting, representing, as it does, fourteen scenes in his life:—

1. Prelates and nobles doing fealty to Edward the Confessor before he was born.
2. Birth of Edward the Confessor (1004).
3. Coronation of Edward the Confessor (1043).
4. Edward the Confessor witnessing the devil dancing on the Danegelt tax deposited in casks.

5. Edward admonishing the thief stealing his treasure.

6. Our Lord appearing to Edward whilst taking Holy Communion.

7. The King of Denmark falling into the sea.

8. Quarrel between Tosti and Harold before Edward.

9. The Emperor Theodosius before the cave of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus.

10. Edward giving his ring as alms to St. John the Evangelist, in the guise of a pilgrim.

11. Restoration of the blind men to sight, by the use of the water in which Edward had washed.

12. St. John giving Edward's ring to the pilgrims.

13. Pilgrims returning the ring to Edward.

14. Called "Dedication of Edward's Church."

In its original and complete state, when its niches were filled with statues, and its rich gilding and colouring were perfect, it must have had an exceedingly beautiful appearance. Even now the variety of delicate lace-work tracery which it exhibits can hardly be paralleled. This screen was much damaged by the soldiers of the Commonwealth, who ate, drank, and smoked tobacco all round about it.

Coronation Chair.—Let us now turn our attention to the Coronation Chair. The chair, formerly on the right, made for William and Mary's coronation, has been removed to Henry VII's Chapel. This is the one made for Edward I, to enclose the famous stone of Scone.

Tradition identifies this stone with the one on which Jacob rested his head at Bethel; Jacob's sons carried it to Egypt, and from thence it passed to Spain with King Gathelus, son of Cecrops, the builder of Athens. About 700 B.C. it appears in Ireland, whither it was carried by the Spanish king's son, Simon Brech, on his invasion of that island. There it was placed on the sacred hill of Tara,

and called “*Lia-Fail*,” the “fatal” stone, or “stone of destiny.” In 330 B.C., Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, and one of the Blood Royal of Ireland, received it in Scotland, and King Kenneth, in the year of our Lord 850, finally desposited it in the Monastery of Scone. When Edward I overran Scotland, he seized this precious relic and brought it to England, where, in 1297, it was placed in Westminster Abbey, the Scots subsequently making repeated efforts to reclaim it.

Upon this chair and stone the sovereigns of England from Edward II, with the one exception of Edward V, have ever since been crowned.

Tomb of Edward III.—St. Edward’s Chapel contains the tombs of five kings and six queens, whose bodies lie round about the shrine. For this reason this spot is also known as the Chapel of the Kings.

One of these kings, Edward III, who was born in 1312, reigned from 1327 to 1377. He was the son of Edward II and Isabel, daughter of Philip the Fair, in whose right Edward II laid claim to the throne of France.

The early part of Edward III’s reign was taken up by achievements in France and Scotland. Fuller says: “He conquered both before his face and behind his back, whence he came and whither he went—north and south, one in his person, the other by substitutes in his absence. Herein he stands without a parallel that he had both the kings he fought against, John de Valois of France, and David the King of Scotland, his prisoners at one time, not taken by any cowardly surprise, but by fair fight in open field.” His end, however, was sad: he died deserted and robbed by his servants, attended only by one poor priest.

His body, with the face uncovered, was borne to the grave by four of his sons, and was followed by all his other children. The altar-tomb is of Purbeck marble. Round the sides are Purbeck niches, in which were once twelve little gilt brass statues, representing the children of Edward and Philippa.

Only six, those on the south side, remain. On the north side are to be seen shields bearing the arms of England and St. George.

Tomb of Henry III.—We now pass on to the tomb of a king who did great things for the Abbey. Henry III, the founder of the present fabric, was a very religious man, “rather devout than wise,” says an old chronicler, in view of the fact that “having neither coin nor credit,” he was driven to pawn the jewels with which he had himself enriched St. Edward’s shrine. The tomb is Italian in design. The mosaics and the workmen came, like those for the shrine, from Italy. It consists of a double marble tomb, once sparkling with jewels and glass-mosaic. Below, upon the inner side, are three recesses which, in all probability, contain reliquaries. The slabs of porphyry at the side were brought from abroad by Edward I, about 1281. Upon it lies Torel’s bronze effigy, which is a conventional figure of a king, and not a likeness of Henry III.

Tombs of Edward I, Queen Eleanor, Queen Philippa, and Richard II and Queen Anne.—Edward I lies in an altar-tomb composed of five blocks of grey marble upon a freestone basement. “a plain monument for so great and glorious a king.”

His first wife—Eleanor of Castile—rests in a tomb of Purbeck marble, decorated with panels enclosing coats of arms. Three only now remain of the many memorial crosses originally erected on the route of her funeral procession from Lincoln to Charing—where the last, subsequently known as Charing Cross, was erected. The inscription, in Norman-French, reads when translated: “Here lies Eleanor, sometime Queen of England, wife to King Edward, son of King Henry, daughter of the King of Spain, and Countess of Ponthieu, on whose soul God in His pity have mercy.”

Queen Philippa’s tomb is an altar-tomb of black marble. The effigy is of alabaster, once enriched with paint and gilding. This is the earliest portrait effigy in the Abbey.

Upon the inside of the wooden canopy over the tomb of Richard II and his first wife—Anne—are painted representations of the Trinity and the Blessed Virgin.

The effigies are considered to be portraits. The King was represented holding the Queen's right hand in his, but both arms have been stolen.

Tomb of Henry V.—Henry V, born 1388, surnamed of Monmouth, the place of his birth, reigned from 1413 to 1422. He was the eldest son of Henry IV. The hero of Agincourt went commonly with his head uncovered; the wearing of armour was no more to him than a cloak. He was fortunate in fight, and commendable in all his actions, verifying the proverb that an ill youth may make a good man. Henry had a great veneration for the Abbey, a feeling which he showed in a practical manner by contributing 1,000 marks yearly towards the building of the nave. He died in France in his thirty-fourth year, and his body was embalmed and deposited for a time in Rouen Cathedral. Afterwards, with great ceremony, it was interred at Westminster.

At the funeral of the King, which James, King of Scotland, attended as chief mourner, behind the effigy of the King, which was then carried for the first time, instead of the embalmed body, his three chargers were led up to the altar, and his banners were carried by great nobles. Shakespeare in *Henry VI*, describes the last scene, when the nobles, standing round the hearse in the Abbey, express their grief for his untimely loss.

“Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night! . . .
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!
England ne’er lost a king of so much worth.”

The Purbeck marble tomb has lost its ancient splendour; the figure is now a shapeless oak block: the head, sceptre, and other regalia, all of solid silver, and the plates of silver which covered the body, were stolen at the end of Henry VIII's reign.

Chantry of Henry V.—Henry's will directed that a

high chantry should be erected over his body. The structure is in the shape of the modern letter H, the tomb being beneath the arch and the chapel, with an altar, called the Altar of the Annunciation, over it. There three daily Masses were offered for the repose of his soul and prayers were said by a knot of thirty poor men, who, as they finished each Hail Mary, added, "Mary, Mother of God, be mindful of thy servant Henry, who placed all his trust in thee." Among the devices on the frieze and cornice is his special badge of a beacon light shining on a tree.

The view from the Chantry down the whole length of the nave is very fine indeed; but special permission is necessary to visit this part of the Abbey.

Wordsworth's lines on King's College Chapel, Cambridge, here come to mind:—

"They dreamt not of a perishable home
Who thus could build. Be mine, in hours of fear
Or grovelling thought, to seek a refuge here;
Or through the aisles of Westminster to roam
Where bubbles burst, and folly's dancing foam
Melts, if it cross the threshold."

Henry VII's Chapel.—In order to give prominence to his somewhat remote claim to be a member of the House of Lancaster and a relation of Henry VI, by this time popularly revered as a saint, Henry VII originally intended to build a memorial chapel, in which the "bodie and reliques of our uncle of blessed memorie," King Henry VI, might repose, and for whose canonization he applied to Pope Julius II. The matter, however, dropped, and the connection with Henry VI gradually faded away.

Every visitor to the Abbey must have noticed the number of steps leading from the aisle up into the chapel. The reason, though seldom thought of, was simple enough. Those were days when England was penetrated with the spirit of the Catholic religion; and Henry VII, desirous of obtaining every grace and spiritual advantage for this great sanctuary, obtained from Pope Julius II the indulgence of

the *Scala Coeli* at Rome for all who visited his chapel. The news of this soon spread and kindled popular devotion even afar off; for we find, a little later, a citizen of Norwich providing in his will for a trental of Masses at the *Scala Coeli* at Westminster “for my soul and for my friends’ souls, to be sung by an honest monk of the same place with licence of his Abbot.”

This magnificent building—the chapel of the Blessed Virgin—was erected on the site of Henry III’s Lady’s Chapel. Leland speaks of it as the wonder of the world.

When Henry VII was firmly established on the throne to which his claim was so questionable, he determined to found a chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin,” “in whom,” he says in his will, “hath ever been my most singular trust and confidence, and by whom I have hitherto in all my adversities ever had my special comfort and relief.” The first stone of Henry VII’s Chapel was laid by Abbot Islip on January 24, 1502.

The King not only built the Lady Chapel in the sumptuous fashion we know so well, but also endowed it with funds for the support of three additional monks, bachelors in divinity, and two lay-brothers for its special service. The sum expended was equal in our money to about £200,000.

Sir Gilbert Scott says, in his *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, that this chapel is the richest specimen in existence of that peculiarly English work known as the Tudor style.

Washington Irving remarks of this building: “The very walls are wrought into universal ornament, encrusted with tracery and scooped into niches crowded with the statues of saints and martyrs.” The stalls date from different periods, additional ones having been added when the chapel was fitted up for the installation of the Knights of the Bath. The banner of each knight hangs over the stall appointed for his use, to the back of which is attached a small plate of copper emblazoned with his arms. Below

the stalls are seats for the knights' esquires, of whom each knight has three.

Roof of Henry VII's Chapel.—We may apply to this great work Wordsworth's lines in the sonnet already quoted:—

“ Give all thou canst; high Heaven rejects the lore
Of nicely-calculated less or more:
So deemed the man who fashioned for the sense
These lofty pillars, spread that branching roof
Self-poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose.”

Of this roof it has been well said: “Stone seems to have been robbed of its weight and density, suspended aloft as if by magic, and the fretted roof achieved with the wonderful minuteness and airy security of a cobweb.” The fan tracery of the self-poised roof is never to be seen in continental architecture; it is the peculiar glory of the English style.

Henry VII's Tomb.—Henry VII left instructions in his will that his funeral solemnities were to be performed with “special respect and consideration to the laud and praising of God, the welth of our soul, and somewhat to our Dignity Royal, eviteing always damnable pomp and outrageous superfluities.” It was also expressly provided that “the walls, doors, windows, arches, and vaults, and images of the same, of our chapel, within and without, be painted, &c., in so goodly and rich manner as such a work requireth, and as to a king's work appertaineth.” The minutest particulars, even as to the number, size and weight of the wax tapers, were drawn up and registered. The agreements still exist for the construction of the tomb, which was described by Lord Bacon as one of the stateliest and daintiest in Europe. The work was completed by Torrigiano.

The recumbent figures of Henry VII and his queen Elizabeth, executed with fine simplicity in gilt bronze, and said to be good portraits, lie side by side, as directed by Henry VII.

“ The brazen enclosure of Henry VII’s tomb,” observes Malcolm, “ would with a very trifling alteration form an outside plan for a magnificent palace in the Gothic style.” The tomb is of black marble with a finely-carved frieze, with gilt copper medallions of the Blessed Virgin and Saints; at each end brass cherubim support the King’s arms.

Tomb of Elizabeth and Mary Tudor.—Passing out of Henry VII’s Chapel, we enter through what is commonly called the Oratory, the north aisle of Henry VII’s Chapel, and view the tomb wherein the coffin of Queen Mary rests under that of her sister Elizabeth.

The inscription reads:—

“ Consorts both in throne and grave, here rest we two sisters, Elizabeth and Mary, in hope of our resurrection.”

The visitor might read with profit one of the two-penny publications of the Catholic Truth Society, entitled “ *Bloody Mary* ” and “ *Good Queen Bess*,” by Monsignor R. H. Benson.

Tomb of Mary Queen of Scots.—The monument is plainer and less sumptuous than that of Mary Queen of Scots which is in the south aisle of Henry VII’s Chapel opposite the tomb of Elizabeth and Mary. Both were erected by James I.

Mary Stuart’s life of forty-five years was one of unceasing sorrow and strife. She was born at a time of deepest gloom in the history of her country, when her father lay dying of a broken heart. One of Mary’s first acts—as Queen of Scotland—on her return from France, was to issue a proclamation guaranteeing liberty of conscience to her subjects. What she allowed others was, however, denied herself. She also presided in court, from time to time, to see that justice was done to the poor. After the disastrous battle of Langside, Mary, regardless of the advice of her truest friends, determined to throw herself upon the mercy of the English Queen. During the nineteen years of her captivity in England, Mary passed through every phase of trial and humili-

liation, during which her prison was changed no less than seven times. When her first so-called trial took place, Mary sadly said, when she saw all the preparations, "I see many advocates, but not one for me." Copies of letters were produced as evidence against her, but no original documents were forthcoming. Mary defended herself with dignity and valour. "I am innocent," she said: "God knows it. My only crimes are my birth, the injuries which I have received, and the religion which I profess. Of my birth, I am proud; I know how to pardon the injuries; and as for my religion, it has been my hope and my consolation in my afflictions, and I am ready to seal it with my blood. I should be happy, at that price, to purchase relief for the oppressed Catholics." In the face of this defence, and in the absence of all real proof against the prisoner, her judges were silenced. At a fresh trial, at which Mary was not allowed to appear, a verdict of guilty of death was returned.

It is interesting to note, in this connection, that Sir Thomas Bromley's monument is to be seen in St. Paul's Chapel (Westminster Abbey). He presided at the trial and sentence of Mary Queen of Scots, but never got over the responsibility, and died two months after her execution.

When the services of a Protestant clergyman were offered Mary to prepare for death, she replied that she "had never desired to change her religion for any worldly good, and would not now do so," adding, that she "would heartily welcome death." Her royal canopy was removed. Mary placed a crucifix where it had stood. Mary wrote to Elizabeth, and begged for a public execution, so that her "servants and others might bear witness that she died true to her Faith and to the Church."

This remarkable letter contains the following passage:—

"I pray the God of mercy and the just Judge that he will enlighten you, and give me the grace to die

in perfect charity, forgiving all who unite to bring about my death. This will be my prayer to the end. Do not accuse me of presumption if, on the eve of quitting this world, and while preparing myself for a better, I remind you that one day you will have to answer for your charge, as well as those who have preceded you."

But a public execution was not Elizabeth's desire.

When Mary received the intelligence that her execution was about to take place, she made the sign of the Cross, and calmly replied that she welcomed the news. "I am happy," she said, "to leave this world, where I am no longer of any use, and I regard it as a signal benefit that God wills to take me out of it, after the many pains and afflictions I have endured, for the honour of His Name and of His Church; that Church for which I have always been ready to shed my blood, drop by drop." Laying her hand on a New Testament, she added, "I take God to witness that I have never desired, approved, or sought the death of the Queen of England." Mary then asked for a short delay, in order to complete her will and put her affairs in order; also to see her confessor: both requests were brutally refused by Shrewsbury. Shrewsbury and Kent urged her to confer with the Protestant Dean of Peterborough, but this Mary indignantly refused. Kent then told her that it had been concluded that she could not live without endangering the State, the Queen's life, and the Protestant religion. "Your life," he said, "would be the death of our religion, your death will be its life." Mary replied that she was far from considering herself worthy of such a death, adding that she humbly received it as a pledge of her admission among the chosen servants of God.

On the scaffold, addressing herself to the witnesses of her death, she reminded them in touching words, of her long and unjust imprisonment, thanked God who had given her the grace to die for her Faith,

and once more protested her innocence of the crime imputed to her. When she ceased speaking the Dean of Peterborough placed himself before the scaffold and urged her to listen to his exhortations. Mary gently declined, and as he persisted, she turned away and prayed aloud, invoking the Holy Spirit, confiding herself to the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints, praying also for her son, for Queen Elizabeth, and all the interests of the Church. Then kissing her crucifix, she exclaimed, "As Thy arms, O my God, were extended on the Cross, do Thou extend over me Thy arms of mercy, graciously receive me, and pardon all my sins." The fatal moment had now come. Kneeling against the block the Queen waited for death. As she repeated the verse, "In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped, let me not be confounded for ever," the signal was given and the soul of Mary Stuart passed to its eternal reward.

Tomb of Margaret Richmond.—Close by the tomb of Mary Queen of Scots is that of Margaret, Countess of Richmond and mother of Henry VII. The foundress of St. John's and Christ's Colleges at Cambridge, she died, practically as a nun, in the monastery of Barking.

Our visit to the Abbey is drawing to a close. In conclusion, let us dwell for a few moments on the subject of the long vanished gate-house, which formerly stood facing the western façade of the Abbey Church. This building shared, with the Tower and Newgate, the honour of being one of the chief prisons for the detention of Catholics during days of long and bitter persecution.

Here died Laurence Vaux, a canon of St. Augustine, and some time warden of the College of Manchester. Here, amongst others, were confined Fathers Garnet and Oldcorne of the Society of Jesus, together with another Father Garnet (Thomas) of the same Order, who was afterwards taken to the Tower.

The chief interest attaching to the gate-house,

however, so far as we are concerned, consists in the fact that here it was that the lineage of the monks of Westminster was perpetuated in 1607.

The names of Henry and Edward will always be associated with the Abbey, as that of Henry Edward Manning is inseparably bound up with the history of Westminster.

"I know no passage in ecclesiastical history more touching," wrote Cardinal Manning in his *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, "than the long confessorship and the closing act of Father [Sigebert] Buckley, the last whom the tempest of the Reformation left to St. Benedict. When exile and martyrdom had swept off his fathers and brethren, he was left alone, the only lingering witness of the family and the apostolate of St. Benedict in England. After forty years of imprisonment, when he was ninety years of age, and the hour of death drew nigh, and all hope of a lineage in England seemed to be cut off, two secular priests came to ask him for the habit of the Order. After due trial he clothed them; and on the day on which he had transmitted the spirit of St. Benedict to his sons, he became blind. He had seen his heart's desire upon earth, and his eyes longed only to see the King in His beauty, on whose glory they soon were opened."

Our visit to the Abbey is over. In view of what we have seen, it is no idle boast that we alone can enter into all the fulness of its earlier glories, because we alone share the Faith professed by those who built it and by those who for centuries ministered within its walls; in one word, we alone can fully realize all that is meant by the few but simple words—Westminster Abbey.

Guides uniform with the present, Canterbury Cathedral, by the Rev. John Morris, S.J., and The Tower of London, by C. L. Jones.

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